

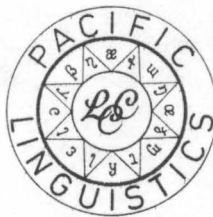
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A TAGMEMIC ANALYSIS OF HAWAII ENGLISH CLAUSES

by

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to formulate a portion of the grammar (specifically, clause structure) of the speech of the one area Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii. The tagmemic model was chosen for comparability with language systems already similarly analyzed, including Susumu Nagara's dissertation on the 'Pidgin English of Japanese in Hawaii' (*A Bilingual Description of Some Linguistic Features of Pidgin English Used by Japanese Immigrants on the Plantations of Hawaii: A Case Study in Bilingualism*, University of Wisconsin, 1969). This description of Keaukaha English clause types is in accord with Kenneth L. Pike's recommended scheme as revised in 1967 in *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, incorporating filler classes ('internal distribution') into his 'feature mode'.

The number of speakers used in this research was twenty-three children (under twelve years of age) and nine adults (over twelve years of age). The recorded conversations provided more than three thousand extracted clauses, the data analyzed here. The recordings were made in the context of informal speech exchanges in homes, in a car, at the beach, at a restaurant, or in a motel, generally with two or more individuals from Keaukaha. The analysis represents conversation which Keaukaha residents of different ages carried on with each other and with the researcher according to the ordinary shifting of attention and circumstances. It is assumed to be representative of a range of varieties of English in use by the Keaukaha community in 1965-1966. It does not assume to be representative of a homogeneous style or dialect.

The study first reviews the history of English in Hawaii, and of research regarding it. Then, through the use of tagmemic formulas and matrices (or tables, for displaying facts in a compact way), three separate chapters present details of the 'feature mode', 'distribution mode', and 'manifestation mode', respectively. (These three 'modes' characterize a unit by analytic definition according to specific ident-

ifying features, by synthetic definition involving relationships outside the entity originally in view, and by exemplification, which approaches the actual as far as it is symbolically possible.)

The final chapter singles out eight features in Keaukaha English which speakers of some other dialects of English may either not use at all or not be conscious of using. These are (1) nominal predications, (2) optional subject, (3) optional object, (4) frequent appositives, and discontinuous appositives related to permutations, (5) double nominal phrase, (6) 'reverse' nominal phrase, (7) peripheral fillers without as well as with prepositions, and (8) distinctive interrogative intonation. The chapter includes a limited comparison of Keaukaha English with the declarative and interrogative clause structures in Nagara's study. It also summarizes a comparison of certain types of usage, differentiating children and adults.

ABBREVIATIONS

adj phr	adjective phrase	Interr	interrogative clause
aux	auxiliary	LOC	locative
BEN	benefactor	MAN	manner
C	cause	mod _{1, 2}	prepositional modifier in determiner noun phrase
compl	complement	MOD	postpositional modifier
COND	condition	Nom Phr	nominal phrase
Conf	confirmation (yes-no) question	nucl	clause nucleus
coord NP	coordinate noun phrase	num	numeral
D1, D2	double nominal phrase	prep phr	prepositional phrase
DET	determiner	Pass	passive clause
Decl cl	declarative clause	periph	peripheral tagmeme
dep cl	dependent clause	perm	permutation
DIR	direction	PURP	purpose
Ditr	ditransitive object	Q	question
da	discontinuous appositive	qu _{1, a, b}	phrase qualifier
DUR	duration	rel cl	relative clause
Expl	expletive clause	RESP	respect (connection)
Imper	imperative clause	S1a-S1g	pro-form
inf cl	infinitive clause	S2a, S2b	determiner noun phrase
info	information question	T	time
INSTR	instrument		

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUNDS

1.1. HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN HAWAII

The brief history of English in Hawaii of course is interwoven with an intricate social and linguistic drama. For thirty or more years before the missionaries' time, sailors had been leaving ships and bringing their English where Hawaiian had been spoken for 800, and possibly 1800 years.¹ And Hawaiian was being heard on British and American vessels calling at Hawaii, both in port and out, because Hawaiians were even then leaving as sailors (Kuykendall-Day 1948:44). The life of one young Hawaiian among these linked his people irrevocably with the Connecticut and other New England missionaries. In 1809 Opukahaia (Henry Obookiah) swam out to Captain Caleb Brintnall's *Triumph*, in the same bay, Kealahakua, where Cook's vessels had lain offshore thirty years earlier still. At the end of the voyage that took Opukahaia first to the Seal Islands of northwest America, to Hawaii again, then China and around the Cape of Good Hope to New York, he went with Brintnall to his home in New Haven. There he met a son of a minister from Torrington, Connecticut, and went to live with his family. He continued learning to read and write English (and studied arithmetic, geometry, geography, some Hebrew and Latin) at different locations in New England. He became a member of the religion and the Mission, and, before dying of typhus fever in 1818 at Cornwall, wrote the *Memoirs* credited with launching the *Thaddeus*, which brought the first missionary group within sight of Mauna Kea in the spring of 1820 (Obookiah 1968).

Within the following thirty years or so the New Englanders learned Hawaiian, devised a Hawaiian orthography (Wise and Hervey 1952:313-325), and in the earliest part of this period began teaching Hawaiian adults and children to read and write Hawaiian. But almost from the

beginning this sixty-year period belonged linguistically to both English and Hawaiian. Although the first sheet printed on Elisha Loomis' press in 1822 was part of an eight-page spelling book in Hawaiian, 'government documents, reports, laws, and papers generally' were printed bilingually, and English increasingly became the main language of trade and government (Reinecke 1969:32; Lind 1967:87). It was in this period, in the middle half of the century, that a 'Hawaiian-based' pidgin known as **hapa haole** ('half English') - now among the lost - is reported to have been in use (Reinecke 1969:34-35, 87-89, 91, 92, 109-110, 144, 194). The Chinese workers who were first brought to the cane fields in 1852 are supposed to have learned this makeshift Hawaiian. It seems most likely that the language systems of these years included **hapa haole** and Chinese pidgin (or another makeshift between these, or between **hapa haole** and the Chinese dialects). At any rate, it is thought that the Portuguese, who came in the 1880's and '90's, were the group that precipitated the formation of plantation pidgin English (Reinecke 1969:92). Whatever may be the case, the Portuguese contracts had guaranteed free schools for their children. Some intelligible linguistic compromise was a necessity therefore, and from 1876 on, there was a tremendous increase of 'English' instruction. By 1890 Hawaiian was all but supplanted as the language of instruction (Reinecke 1969:49-50).

In the heyday of pidgins there was a rainbow of other languages, besides the Portuguese dialects, which were added to the Hawaiian and Chinese on the sugar cane and the later pineapple plantations. Most numerous of all the groups were Japanese, of whom the strongest inflow was between 1885 and 1907 (Reinecke 1969:58). The next largest group were speakers of Philippine languages, mainly Ilocano, who came after 1907 (Reinecke 1969:63). Others were Puerto Ricans, South Sea Islanders, Spanish, Norwegians, Germans, Galician Poles, Koreans, and Russians (Reinecke 1969:59-67).² The appended thumbnail sketch (Table I) brings this language history into focus.³ The highlights are that

- (a) Between 1820 and 1880 **hapa haole**, a Hawaiian-based pidgin, arose, at the same time that Hawaiian, English, and Chinese were the languages of the land.
- (b) From 1880 on an English-based pidgin developed among the speakers of all the various languages on the scene.
- (c) By about 1910 a Hawaiian English dialect was established (Reinecke 1969:166).

Reinecke points out that the plantation speech was a lingua franca which supplemented but did not supplant the language of each group of speakers - as long as they maintained an ethnic spirit and community

life of their own (Reinecke 1969:143). But public school experience, begun in 1840 and broadly extended in the 1880's, as well as growing economic opportunities, led to the increased use of a 'dialectal' English (Lind 1967:90; Kuykendal 1924:80; Reinecke 1969:69-82). In the crucible of this developing system, of course, has been the speech of other American and British evangelists, businessmen, teachers, and tourists. But, however it may vary from island to island and from decade to decade, Hawaiian English is still the language of descendants of speakers of all the dozen or two dozen languages, of groups who continue to foster ethnic identity in varying degrees. Hence the marvelously teleidoscopic nature of English in Hawaii today - multiple and changing and undoubtedly with an organization of its own.

1.2. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF HAWAII ENGLISH

Table II indicates briefly the extent and nature of systematic studies that have been made of different aspects of English in Hawaii up to the present. Inasmuch as this particular study is a tagmemic analysis of one variety of Hawaii English clauses, the works indicated in the syntax column are relevant here.

Reinecke-Tokimasa seem to use creole dialect, plantation creole, and pidgin (Reinecke-Tokimasa 1934:49, 50) as Hall defines the single term pidgin.⁴ They designate what Hall later defined as creole⁵ by the terms colonial dialect, local dialect, Island dialect, Hawaiian Island dialect, Hawaiian dialect, and dialectal speech.⁶ The object of their study is the latter phenomenon, namely, creole in Hall's terms, and as the table shows, their discussion seems to assume a general dialect undifferentiated as to other-language orientation or background.

Parenthetically, it should be acknowledged that the use of the terms 'dialect' and 'language' in the preceding paragraphs and elsewhere partakes of the inexactness inherent in all usages of the terms. The most telling word in Greenberg's statement in his discussion of variation of language (1968:37) is roughly:

We ... have a sequence of concepts: idiolects, individual speech, dialect, the speech of a linguistically distinguishable set of speakers roughly congruent with some group defined in nonlinguistic terms, and, most inclusively, the total language community.

Gleason (1961:398) describes the state of affairs regarding features of linguistic variation and terminology regarding them in this way:

When the differences are small, these are known as dialects. When larger, they are known as languages. However, no exact definition of these two terms is feasible. They have for so long been used in widely varying meanings that it is really hopeless to impose any uniformities on their usage, even if some suitable criterion could be found.

The most analytical statement by Reinecke-Tokimasa regarding syntax is that the two predominant Island characteristics 'appear to be wholesale confusion of the verbal forms of tense, number, and person, and wholesale omission of particles and other words not absolutely necessary in a sentence' (Reinecke-Tokimasa 1934:122). This is abundantly amplified by examples, but their article for the most part is an extended presentation of sound variations, words, phrases, and full expressions which are cited without much elaborate linguistic analysis. However, what is most significant regarding this and Reinecke's *Language and Dialect in Hawaii* is that non-linguists should preserve such a considerable amount of data concerning problems still to be considered thirty-five years later.

Although Chun's study is an investigation of effects of bilingualism among very young children in Chinese families, she makes generalizations on some matters of syntax, and these are graphically summarized in Tables III and IV.⁷

Kindig's work with three generations of speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish concentrates on phonetics and refers only briefly to lexical or syntactic matters. As to syntax, she lists fifteen or more examples of utterances, some of which suggest similarities with Spanish usage, and does not attempt further systematic treatment.

Shun chose the speech of a small proportionate cross-section of the Honolulu population for her study. Her informants were in their twenties and were bilingual in 'standard English and the substandard Island dialect' (Shun 1961:11). Her concentration was also on phonetics, especially having to do with terminal contours of questions. (It is to be regretted that in so thorough a treatment the suprasegmentals indicated were only pitch and juncture, and not the fullest possible transcription of stress as well.⁸) Her statements regarding syntax concern questions only and are formulated to compare Hawaiian Island standard and Hawaiian Island dialect 'deviations' from 'General American English' (Shun 1961:140 ff). These were classified overall as 'omissions' and 'incorrect verb forms,' with a total of thirty-two such in the standard and 329 in the dialect. For the standard, the omissions were mainly of the word *it*, and the verb forms were different uses in agreement and tense. For dialect, omissions consisted of *be* (simple predicate), of *be* and *do* (auxiliaries), and of prepositions, pronouns, and conjunctions. The range of variant verb forms was likewise greater than for standard. Shun reports meticulously on these points, but also does not present an extended analysis. A main strength of her work for syntactic purposes may still be untouched, in the approximately two hundred pages of transcribed material.

Knowlton's article in 1967 provides an inventory of sixteen features

of conversational Portuguese which are similar to Hawaii's English dialect, along with a similar catalog of seventeen features of Chinese Pidgin English which are also characteristics in some varieties of English in Hawaii. While the majority of these items in Hawaii English are individual lexical items, six syntactic features similar to Portuguese are, in this order,⁹

- (1) *what* + verb + subject
where
Where was Gabriel she did not know.
What means 'irony'?
 (Reinecke-Tokimasa 128)
- (2) *to* + \emptyset / ___ infinitive
I like go.
 (Reinecke-Tokimasa 125)
- (3) 'double negative'
- (4) *with* phrases for certain adverbs
- (5) *the* 'where it would not be used in idiomatic standard English'
The bus came on the Saturday.
 (Reinecke-Tokimasa 126)
- (6) *a* + adjective
a dumb
 (Reinecke-Tokimasa 55)

And those items in Hawaii English similar to Chinese Pidgin English (Knowlton 1967:230):

- (1) noun + *side* (locative)
- (2) noun + *time* (temporal)
- (3) predicate without subject
- (4) interrogative clauses with the same order as declarative

In his earlier article Knowlton had also mentioned two additional items in Hawaii English which have a parallel in Portuguese: ambiguity through the use of an identical form for both present and past participle functions, and the use of *the* + adjective in expressions like '*Ooh, the sassy!*' (Knowlton 1960:216).

In 1967 Tsuzaki proposed substitution frames useful for establishing grammatical classes in Hawaii English, and he presented approximately one hundred sample words for each class (Tsuzaki 1967a:7-12). 'These frames, and resultant categories, apply primarily to the pidgin

and creole ... varieties of Hawaiian English. To a certain extent, however, they also seem to be applicable to the less sophisticated, less assimilated (to Standard English) subvarieties of the dialect...' (Tsuzaki 1967a:7). The frame for nouns is *No more* ____ and that for verbs, *No can* ____.

In support of his argument for coexistent language systems in Hawaii English, Tsuzaki adduces six 'representative features' (Tsuzaki forthcoming:13-14) which are characteristic of other pidgins:

- (1) copulaless equational clauses
- (2) juxtaposition of nouns without the possessive suffix or the preposition
- (3) lack of definite and indefinite articles
- (4) generalized third person pronoun *em* as direct object of the verb
- (5) lack of inflectional suffixes
- (6) small inventory of prepositions, usage of which is highly restricted

He also presents an analysis of a verbal phrase in Hawaii English which resembles other creoles (Tsuzaki forthcoming:19-20). The sequence of the component categories and their markers follows the order here.

- (1) Negative (*no/never*)
- (2) Auxiliary (*can/might(?) /must(?) /etc.*)
- (3) Past tense (*been/went/had*)
- (4) Future or contingent mood (*go*)
- (5) Progressive aspect (*stay*)
- (6) Habitual aspect (\emptyset - unmarked stem)
- (7) Verb stem, nucleus or base

Nagara's dissertation includes a substantial analysis of Japanese Pidgin English in Hawaii. To date it is the only known study of this particular variety. For his diaphonic description of segmental phones, phonotactics, and the suprasegmentals of stress and junctural patterns, Nagara modified Haugen's design to clearly distinguish phonemic, allo-phonetic, and free variant distributions.¹⁰ He uses tagmemic formulas to enumerate twelve sentence level, twenty clause level, and eight phrase level syntagmemes, for each of which he cites one example. For the morphemic level there is extensive paradigmatic treatment in the eleven tables showing neutralization of contrasts in number, case, person, tense, aspect, and comparison. A continuing impression from the work as a whole derives from the numerous citations of similarities in both phonology and syntax between this pidgin English and the Japanese language. Nagara notes, through Hall, two possible borrowings from nineteenth-century Chinese Pidgin English beyond those Knowlton

mentions. These are the copulaless clause and the use of the lexeme *number* to indicate ordinals (Nagara 1969:271, 311). For the present study, of course, his tagmemic presentation has prime interest and will be included in consideration in the final chapter.

1.3. GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THIS STUDY

The preceding review suffices to indicate the fact of a multitudinously complex linguistic situation, only slightly investigated qua language. As I said in 1967,

In the summer of 1965 when I began assembling a bibliography for this work, it became increasingly evident that systematic study or even passing consideration or awareness of Hawaiian dialects was up to then almost non-existent.¹¹ Even Robert A. Hall's comprehensive volume on pidgin and creole languages published in 1966 presents only a single paragraph giving general information about 'Hawaiian Pidgin English.'¹² *English in Hawaii: An Annotated Bibliography*, issued in 1966 by Stanley M. Tsuzaki and John E. Reinecke, emphasizes the fact that 'most of the best technical writing about English in Hawaii has been sociological' and that the few theses that approach a scientific description of the Island dialect have been mostly phonologically oriented.¹³ In the April 1967 *Quarterly Journal of Speech* is an article entitled 'Prosodic Features of Hawaiian English,'¹⁴ which generalizes regarding certain phonological features.¹⁵ But as to syntax and lexicon, its authors can only cite the Reinecke-Tokimasa treatment in 1934.¹⁶

Hall's statement in 1966 seems to have been based on a fairly general impression only. But little information is abroad because to date little more than minimal studies have been carried on. Only at the time of this writing is additional extensive field work being pursued (by William Labov) beyond Nagara's work and the investigation being reported here. This study then is the second grammatical description yet undertaken.

The desirability of having a detailed account such as this (and of having it supplemented by a great many others, similar and diverse) seems almost axiomatic at this point. 'The investigation of urban speech is surely one of the most important tasks confronting the student of American English' (Kurath 1968:2). However, it is not only urban language that is the subject here, but the variety of language system that fits Hall's definition of creole. He wrote in 1966, 'As of now, only a few pidgins and creoles have been studied with any approach to accuracy or completeness,' and he maintained that pidgins and creoles ought to furnish some decisive evidence pertaining to 'one of the major problems under discussion in linguistics for over a century ... the nature and extent of substratum influences.' 'From the scientific point of view,' he said, 'a great deal of interesting light is cast on language history by the origins of pidgins and creole languages, and the study of their structure is of great value for the

general theory of language' (Hall 1966:viii, 107-108, xv).

Although this study of Keaukaha English is not occupied with the field of creoles generally, some of the information given here may eventually help fill out a picture that is now very sketchy. Hall's view regarding creole languages is that they have evolved from different pidgins. This view is known as the polygenetic theory (DeCamp 1968:31). Other linguists are entertaining a monogenetic theory. According to DeCamp, Keith Whinnon suggested in 1965 (in 'The Origin of the European-based Creoles and Pidgins,' *Orbis* 14:509-527) 'that Sabir, the famous Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean, was the proto-creole, the source of all the European-based pidgins and creoles of the world' (DeCamp 1968:32). Sabir is reported to be at least as old as the Crusades. It was described by Hugo Schuchardt in 1909 in 'Die Lingua franca,' *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Volume 33, 441-461. But, as DeCamp says regarding the monogenetic theory, as yet it 'rests on many assumptions and very little documentary evidence' (*ibid.*:33). This study does not assume to make any direct contribution to solving the very large problem involved in this field, but it does constitute possibly relevant documentary evidence within its scope.

Values in addition to the specific linguistic description are included as well in the perspective in which this work has been carried on. It seems that in too many quarters the current attitude toward dialects very closely parallels that referred to by Hall when 'in the Renaissance, with the rise of the vernaculars of Western Europe - Italian, French, Spanish, English - as literary vehicles, the defenders of these latter languages worked hard to demonstrate that they, too, had "grammar"' (Hall 1966:105). Even though the colonial currency of superior-inferior dialect may seem merely counterfeit to some, to those who are born into the situation where the dialect has been derogated, such coin can mean educational, even psychic bankruptcy. It is hoped that this study might signal the beginning of comprehensive language analyses in Hawaii, especially on the part of *kamaainas*, that is, of those born to the land, and that it and all such studies will contribute to the enlarging of understanding and self-respect by the speakers regarding their own systems.

This work and others that would help attain a clearer and respectful understanding of Hawaii English could serve in another way also. Inasmuch as the differences between Hawaii English and other American English dialects seem to be taken as obstacles by some newcomers to Hawaii (Dulaney 1960:73-75), published materials could hasten understanding across dialects. It is the opinion of the writer that a particular need exists for such materials to be made available to individuals who come to Hawaii to teach.

These linguistic and human desiderata were in view at the inception and throughout the development of the analysis. As to linguistic considerations, the use of the tagmemic model as the overall framework for the description recommends itself for making the system of Keaukaha English available for immediate comparison with systems already similarly analyzed. As was noted on page six, Nagara used tagmemic formulas for his presentation of syntax in his dissertation on Japanese Pidgin English in Hawaii. Tagmemics has been the model for many studies of languages in Central and South America (Pike 1967:679-729). Nagara (1969:194) reports an unpublished dissertation completed at the University of Michigan, *The Dialect of Oomishima in Three Generations: A Tagmemic Approach*, by Noah S. Brannen. Recent extensive tagmemic studies of other of the world's languages are Pike's *Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages* (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, November 1966), and Longacre's *Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages* (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, December 1968).

Moreover, it has seemed highly desirable to present the description in accord with Pike's recommended scheme as revised in 1967 (460), especially since such recent tagmemic works as Ruth Brend's *A Tagmemic Analysis of Mexican Spanish Clauses* (1968) and Liem's *English Grammar* (1966) are not clear exemplifications of Pike's trimodal system of analysis (which will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter Two) nor of his 1967 thinking regarding the components of the three modes (see Section 2.5.).

Regarding the two objectives mentioned on page eight, for both native and non-native speakers of Hawaii English, it seems to this writer that Pike's use of matrices for description constitutes one means which may assist in helping a person visualize more convincingly the existence of grammatical structure and system. Displaying grammatical information in a matrix for classes of college students has seemed to focus and to speed the perception of system and structure.

It remains to delineate the present study. Its aim is to formulate a portion of the grammar of the speech of the one area Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii. It was hinted above that such description seems long overdue. For the Eastern States we have some record in the Linguistic Atlas of the oldest varieties of English accessible to direct observation as of the 1930's, which provides basis for study of linguistic change. But, as Labov observed, 'the simplest data that will establish the existence of a linguistic change is a set of observations of two successive generations of speakers - generations of comparable social characteristics which represent stages in the evolution of the same speech community' (Labov 1965:94). The present data can constitute a beginning at

filling one gap in the American scene.

The phrase 'portion of grammar' in the preceding paragraph acknowledges the general understanding that a full grammar means the inclusion of phonology, lexicon, and syntax. It must be interpreted further because a description of the full range of syntax in the tagmemic view embraces all so-called levels from the morpheme through sentence, paragraph, discourse, and beyond. Here, the analysis undertakes a comprehensive description of clauses similar in scope to Ruth Brend's dissertation, *A Tagmemic Analysis of Mexican Spanish Clauses* (1968). As it will become evident, analysis on any level interlocks with the analysis of levels 'above' and 'below'. As it is necessary, then, phrase and sentence levels will be involved in this study. But clause level analysis is the center of the study. 'The clause level in tagmemics is the heart of the analytic process' (Cook 1969:67).¹⁷

It was stated above that this is to be part of the 'grammar of the speech' of Keaukaha residents. It has been the aim to report upon actual human speech, that is, upon 'living speech' as Fries phrased it (1952:12). As Labov said, casual speech would occur when a person is paying no attention to his own speech (1966:91). On this point, Chao's opinion is that 'any statistical study of linguistic forms would be much more significant if we could gather speech data from real life instead of, as has usually been necessary, from composed discourse or from question and answer between the linguist and the native speaker' (1968:12). Stockwell's thought seems the same: 'Examples are real in the sense that they are caught on the fly, not constructed' (1962:51). The recordings for this analysis were made in the context of quite ordinary speech exchanges in homes, in a car, at the beach, at a restaurant, or in a motel, generally with two or more individuals from Keaukaha. A measure of the nature of the speakers' relationship with the researcher is suggested by the approximately one hundred items of correspondence directed to her from nine individuals in the years since the field work was done. Appendix I will afford some objective evaluation in the sample transcriptions. In short, the language samples approximate as natural a recording situation as to date has seemed possible in this tradition where the researcher is not a native speaker of the subject language. The following analysis is presented as representative of the language which Keaukaha speakers (all of at least part Hawaiian ancestry) used in 1965 and 1966 with one non-Keaukaha resident, but in the unstructured discourse of a human-to-human situation.

A word is in order at this point regarding the evolution of that situation. My acquaintance with the community began in the Christmas season, when Professor Stanley M. Tsuzaki accompanied me to Keaukaha,

on December 23, 1965. I returned the following week, and again at the end of January 1966. Professor Tsuzaki again went over from Honolulu with me in June, when he assisted by arranging introductions to teachers, who consented to call together groups of small children for some recording sessions. This trip and the following ones in July, August, September, November, and December, 1966, were for a few days each. Transcriptions were obtained during these times. The portable recorder I was able to use through the Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, was a kind of third arm, ubiquitous, almost always with me. In my opinion the children and I came to think little of its presence. The Hilo Language Project office was the place of our introduction, and in the summer I met some of the children for the first time in school rooms. But we moved from there, outside, onto the steps of the school, the school grounds, and then away, walking around the area, to the corner store, stopping at the playing area around Kawanānakoā Hall, into homes. Sometimes when it was raining, a full load of us would be in front of one of their homes, in the small car I had rented, or driving from Keaukaha to town and back, with a stop at the drive-in. Sometimes I would go around to the baseball playing field and get 'all swapped and docked' (as Mr. Kauhi says in Appendix I-18). One of the young girls visited her married sister and her brother in Hauula on Oahu in August 1966, and invited me first to visit at the home and at the Crouching Lion where the sister and brother worked, and then to the brother's wedding luau. Later, I was included in the family's Thanksgiving. I also brought Lovette to the East-West Center, which she wanted to see. In November and December when I was staying at the Plumeria Motel, which is in the center of the community, the children congregated in my room, and we had some Christmas celebrations in groups of four to six.

In addition to the tape recorder, at each visit I carried one or two things like a soprano recorder, ukelele, teleidoscope, '*plastiskop*' (from Mittenwald, Germany, with scenes that can be viewed successively by the push of a button at the bottom of the 1½" x 2½" gadget), a plastic slate, tapes of singing and conversation from my brother's family in Stockton (California), family pictures, a Brownie camera, games, construction toys, and books - of the regular format as well as of the pop-up or 'stand-up' form. I had the Swadesh list with me from time to time, but it was one among these other items. Working with the Swadesh list was the occasion sometimes for the children and me to get together, but interest and talk moved about easily and in many directions. The children in one family went to their first Japanese movie in town with me, and others to dinner in town and out.

In the tapes that are being filed in conjunction with the study can

be heard the continual bubbling up of laughter (which Labov (1966:110) notes as one of the 'channel cues' of casual style) as well as some of the spontaneous singing by both boys and girls.

The speech upon which this analysis is made was all recorded in informal situations. The analysis represents conversation which Keaukaha residents of different ages carried on with each other and with me according to the ordinary shifting of attention and circumstance. During the development of our mutual acquaintance in more than a year's time, the informality of our speech together no doubt increased. The one definite constant was my presence on all occasions. (The speech data for this work excludes all that elicited in working with the Swadesh list. It excludes as well all sound sequences which I was not able to transcribe and also those which according to my best understanding could not be analyzed grammatically without ambiguity or indeterminacy.) This analysis, then, is assumed to be representative of a range of varieties of English in use by the Keaukaha community. The analysis does not assume to be representative of a homogeneous style or dialect. The description which follows, including all matrices, interprets the conversational data only.

The number of speakers used in this study tallies fairly well with Labov's estimation that ten to twenty individuals can be expected to establish a reliable pattern (1966:181), and exceeds the fifteen speakers represented by initials in Ruth Brend's transcriptions (1968: 79-126). Twenty-three Keaukaha children (under twelve years of age) constitute part of the sample here, and nine adults (over twelve years of age), the remainder of the total thirty-two. The recorded conversations provided more than three thousand extracted clauses, the data analyzed here.

A general disclaimer regarding the use of the term Keaukaha English is appropriate in the context of the preceding paragraph. Even considering the sampling, the term really implies more coverage of the speech community than this study strictly warrants. Therefore whenever the term is used, it is with the expectation that this qualification will always be understood. Further, of course, in order to use the term Hawaii English with any degree of responsibility, we need to accumulate a much greater body of information than is now available. Its use in the title of this study is necessarily for the most general purpose of description only.

Inasmuch as Ruth Brend included some observations regarding children's speech it has seemed convenient and useful in many instances to distinguish children's and adults' usage. My choice of twelve years of age as an arbitrary dividing point was guided by Labov's report that he considered the native dialect characteristics to be established

between ages four and thirteen (1966:175).

To recapitulate and proceed, the following analysis proposes in the main

(1) to formulate a tagmemic description of a portion of the grammar in order to communicate to others the nature of clause structure in the speech of the one area Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii, at a particular point in time (1965-1966); and in addition

(2a) to specify syntactic usage differentiated in certain instances as to age groups according to William Labov's recommendations (for synchronic and diachronic comparisons);

(2b) to update the presentation of a tagmemic grammatical description for an Indo-European-based language according to Kenneth L. Pike's system, revised in 1967;

(2c) to respond to some of the numerous generalizations by Hall and others regarding systems related directly or indirectly to Hawaii English;

(2d) to compare as far as possible Keaukaha clause structure and that reported by Nagara for Pidgin English of Japanese in Hawaii (1969);

(2e) to consider Ruth Brend's report on children's speech in the light of the present study.

N O T E S

1. Suggs 152, 155, 227. Radiocarbon dates so far obtained: South Point, Hawaii, A.D. 120 \pm 120 years; Kuli'ou'ou Valley, Oahu, A.D. 1005 \pm 180; Ha'ele'ele, Kauai, A.D. 1239 \pm 200; Moomomi, Molokai, A.D. 1408 \pm 300.
2. Nagara's summary (Appendix 42) also lists Italian.
3. Details of language history given in Chapter One are extracted from Reinecke, Chapters 3 and 7, and are in agreement with those presented in Nagara's extensive historical account, Appendix 1-197.
4. Hall's definition of pidgin (1966:xii) is '... language ... whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side.'
5. Hall (1966:xii-xiii): 'A creole language arises when a pidgin becomes the native language of a speech community.'
6. Reinecke-Tokimasa 49, 50, 51, 52, 53. N.b. By analogy to Hall's suggestion regarding Melanesian English (*op. cit.*:vii), the earlier, first variety could be called Hawaiian Pidgin English, and the later, Neo-Hawaiian.
7. Table III is extracted from Chun 47; Table IV, from 49.
8. In my opinion this omission is not made up for in the later article (Vanderslice-Pierson: 156-166), in which some stress patterns are indicated by black dots of varying relative size. The generalizations regarding pitch are that 'opposition between weak- and strong-stressed syllables is largely leveled, especially that between content and

function words' (157), and that one of the 'salient prosodic features' of Hawaiian American English is 'fluid word-stress and non-information-pointing accent placement' (166). The fact that 'accent placement is not entirely predictable' (159) would seem to make a full transcription of her large amount of material extremely important.

9. Knowlton 1967:234-235. (Examples when given are those Knowlton cited from Reinecke-Tokimasa.)

10. Nagara apparently did not have access to Shun's research, which is of interest for comparative purposes and which suggests interpretation or description of patterns considerably different from that given in Nagara (1969:125-128). Definitive comparison will be difficult however, since Shun omitted specifics of stress and Nagara, of pitch. (Knowlton's article in 1960 refers to 'circumflex rise-fall intonation at the end of simple questions' on page 216, which is one of the disparate aspects.)

11. G.L. Brook in 1963 (*English Dialects*, London, Andres Deutsch) refers to Ireland, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Pakistan, Nigeria and Malaya, to Chinese pidgin and Cameroon in connection with varieties of 'English Overseas,' but there is no reference to Hawaii English by him, or by Jean Malmstrom and Annabel Ashley in 1963 (*Dialects USA*, Champaign, Illinois, NCTE), or by Hans Kurath in *A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag), by William A. Stewart in *Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English* in 1964 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics), or by W. Nelson Francis in 1965 in *The English Language* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc.) - though the three words 'Hawaiian Pidgin English' do appear in a footnote by Stewart in *Social Dialects and Language Learning* in 1964 (Roger W. Shuy, ed., Champaign, Illinois, NCTE, 12).

This observation should be updated by reference to Elizabeth B. Carr: *Hawaii's Dialects, from Pidgin to Neo-Pidgin and American English*, cited as forthcoming in Nagara (1969:25).

12. Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 18:

In the South Seas, Pidgin English is coming to be the native language of the youngest generation in some places, and hence is in a stage of incipient creolization. Another creolized variety of English in the South Seas is the somewhat misnamed Hawaiian Pidgin English; it is usually regarded as another outgrowth of the old South Seas Pidgin, and is by now the native speech of a large number of those who are born or brought up in the islands

(no matter of what racial origin, Hawaiian or otherwise). It is widespread as a means of communication, though it is spoken in its earlier form only on outlying islands; in Honolulu and other populated areas, Hawaiian Pidgin covers, like Jamaican Creole, a whole spectrum from a strongly differentiated type of speech all the way to semistandard English. Although it has little social and no official standing, this 'Pidgin' is, for many Hawaiians, the language they speak for fun and relaxation.

13. *Oceanic Linguistics*, Special Publication No. 1, Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), vii.
14. Ralph Vanderslice and Laura Shun Pierson, Vol. LII, No. 2, 458-466.
15. John E. Reinecke and Aiko Tokimasa, 'The English Dialect of Hawaii,' *American Speech*, IX (1934), 48-58, 123-131.
16. 'In-Progress Analysis of English Idiolects, Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii,' *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Linguists*, September 1967, Vol. II, 143-150.
17. Pike, in 1967 (487): 'It is to Longacre ... that we owe emphasis upon the clause as a useful starting point of analysis ...'

TABLE 1
HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE HISTORY*

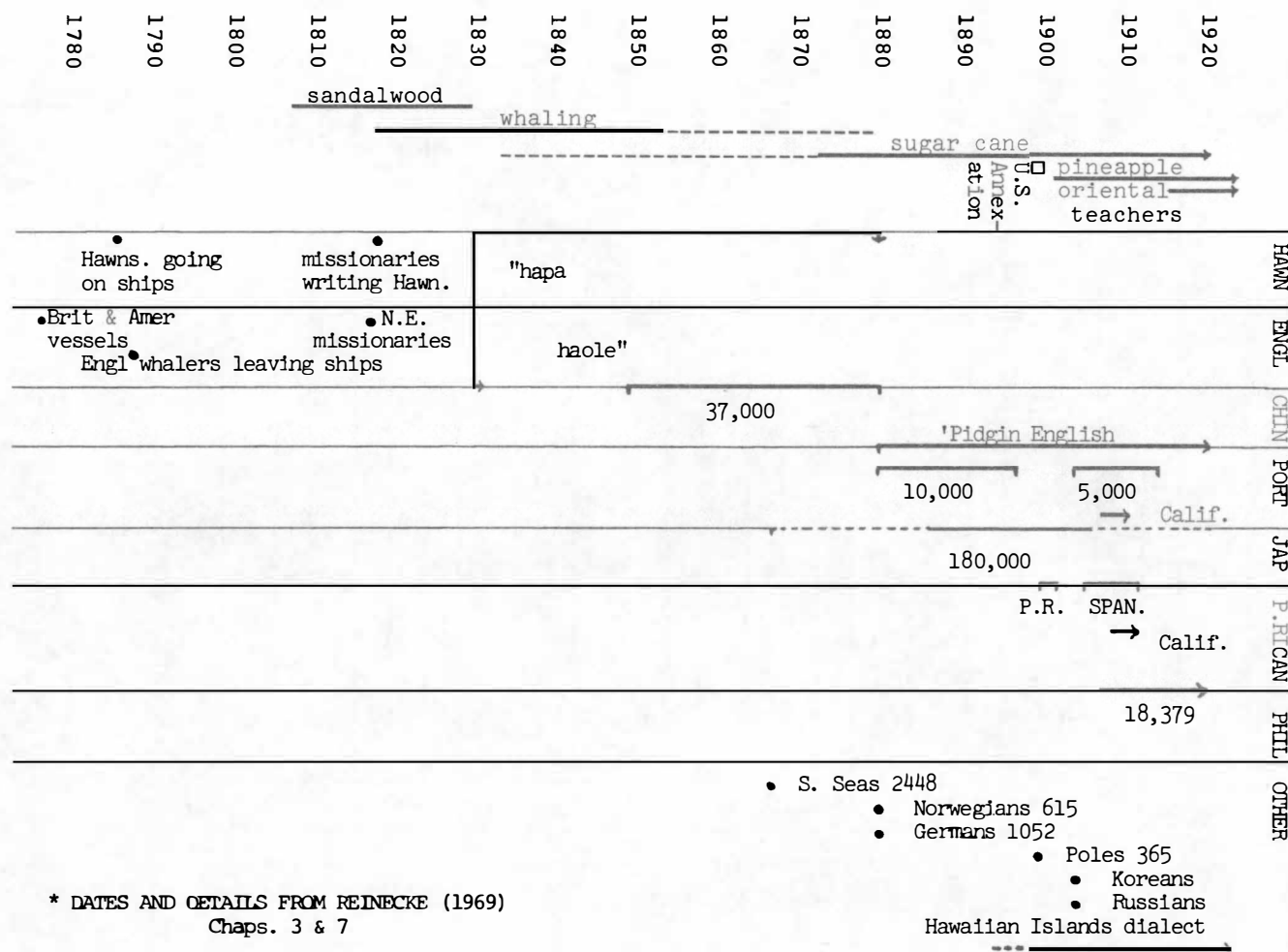


TABLE II
SURVEY OF SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS/
DESCRIPTION OF ENGLISH IN HAWAII*

			PHON.								SYNTAX								LEXICON										
			Gen	H	Ch	P	K	J	Cauc	Fil	PR	Gen	H	Ch	P	K	J	Cauc	Fil	PR	Gen	H	Ch	P	K	J	Cauc	Fil	PR
(a)	Reinecke-Tokimasa	'34	✓									✓									✓								
(b)	Reinecke	'35																											
(c)	Chun	'35												✓															
(d)	Larry	'42		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓																			
(e)	Wise	'50																											
(f)	Wise	'53-4																											
(g)	Costa	'51		✓	✓			✓																					
(h)	Hayes	'58						✓																					
(i)	Kindig	'60									✓										✓								✓
(j)	Shun	'61	✓	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	✓	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
(k)	Knowlton	'60																											
(l)	Knowlton	'62				✓									✓										✓				
(m)	Elbert-Pukui	'66																				✓							
(n)	Vanderslice-Pierson	'67	✓																										
(o)	Reinecke-Tsuzaki	'67																				✓							
(p)	Tsuzaki	'67										✓											✓						
(q)	Tsuzaki	'67																					✓						
(r)	Tsuzaki	'68																					✓						
(s)	Tsuzaki	'68										✓																	
(t)	Tsuzaki-Elbert	'68																				✓							
(u)	Nagara	'69						✓																					

* n.b. Tsuzaki-Reinecke: *English in Hawaii* (1966)

TABLE II (cont'd)

LANG. SAMPLES	TYPE OF TRANSCR.	AREA	INFORMANTS
(a) numerous items in isolation	reg. orthog.	Honolulu rural Oahu various various Honolulu Hawaii (UH, Hilo) Honolulu Honolulu	125 (25 each of ages 2-6) 500 (4-5-6th graders) 4 7 9 bilingual adults 12 (4 students and their parents) 15 (3 members/5 families) 14 (young adults)
(b) approx. 21 pp. wrtg.	reg. orthog.		
(c) approx. 6 pp. speech	reg. orthog.		
(d) 1 p.	Kenyon-Webster		
(e) LAUSC wkshts.	IPA		
(f) LAUSC wkshts.	IPA		
(g) Rev. LAUSC wkshts.	IPA		
(h) approx. 100 pp. unanalyzed speech	segmentals and stress, pitch, juncture		
(i) approx. 50 pp. unanalyzed speech	segmentals and pitch and 'pause'		
(j) approx. 200 pp. unanalyzed speech	segmentals and pitch and juncture		
(k)			
(l) >REINECKE-TOKIMASA	reg. orthog. IPA phones	Honakaa (Hamakua) Keaukaha; Hilo; Kona; Kula (Maui); Honolulu	REINECKE & students; DAS; LEE 26 (elem. & sec. sch. children; adults)
(m)			
(n) numerous items in isolation			
(o) words			
(p)			
(q) words			
(r) words			
(s) numerous items in isolation			
(t) words			
(u) 1/2 p.			
		10 Hawaii; 3 Lihue; 1 Hon.	14 adults

TABLE III
 FREQUENCY OF THE KINDS OF SENTENCES
 USED IN CHUN'S STUDY

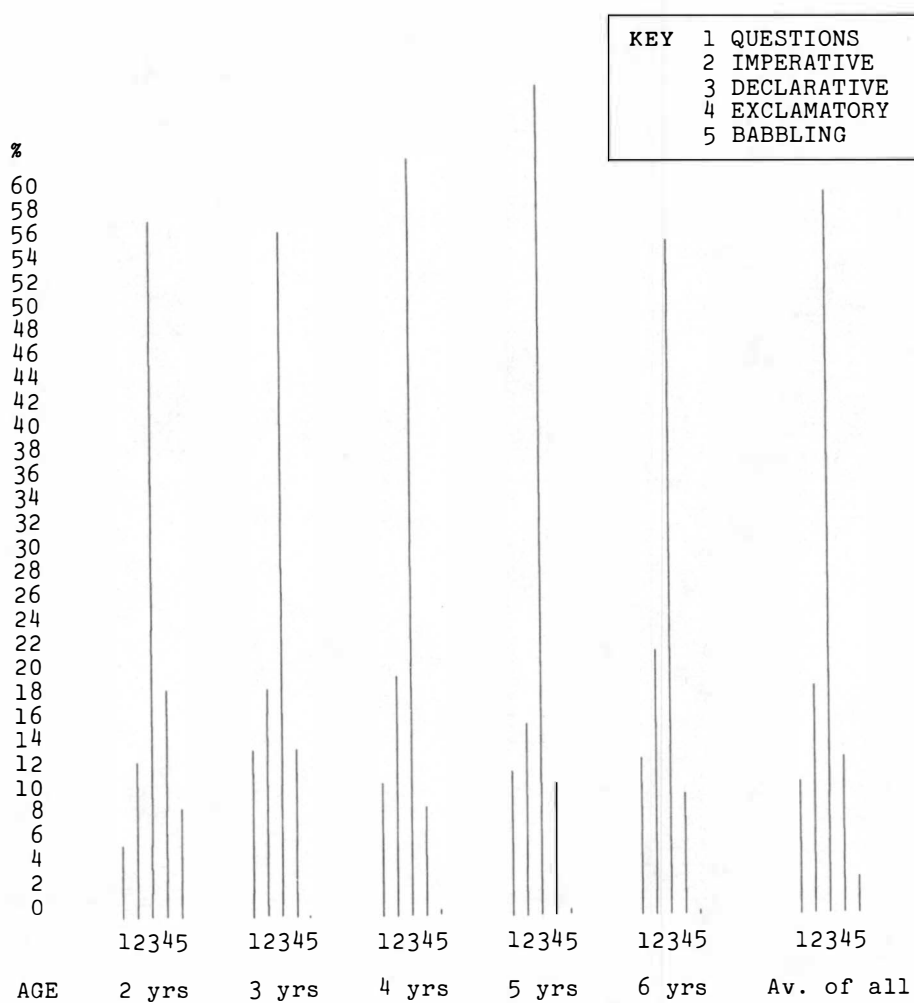
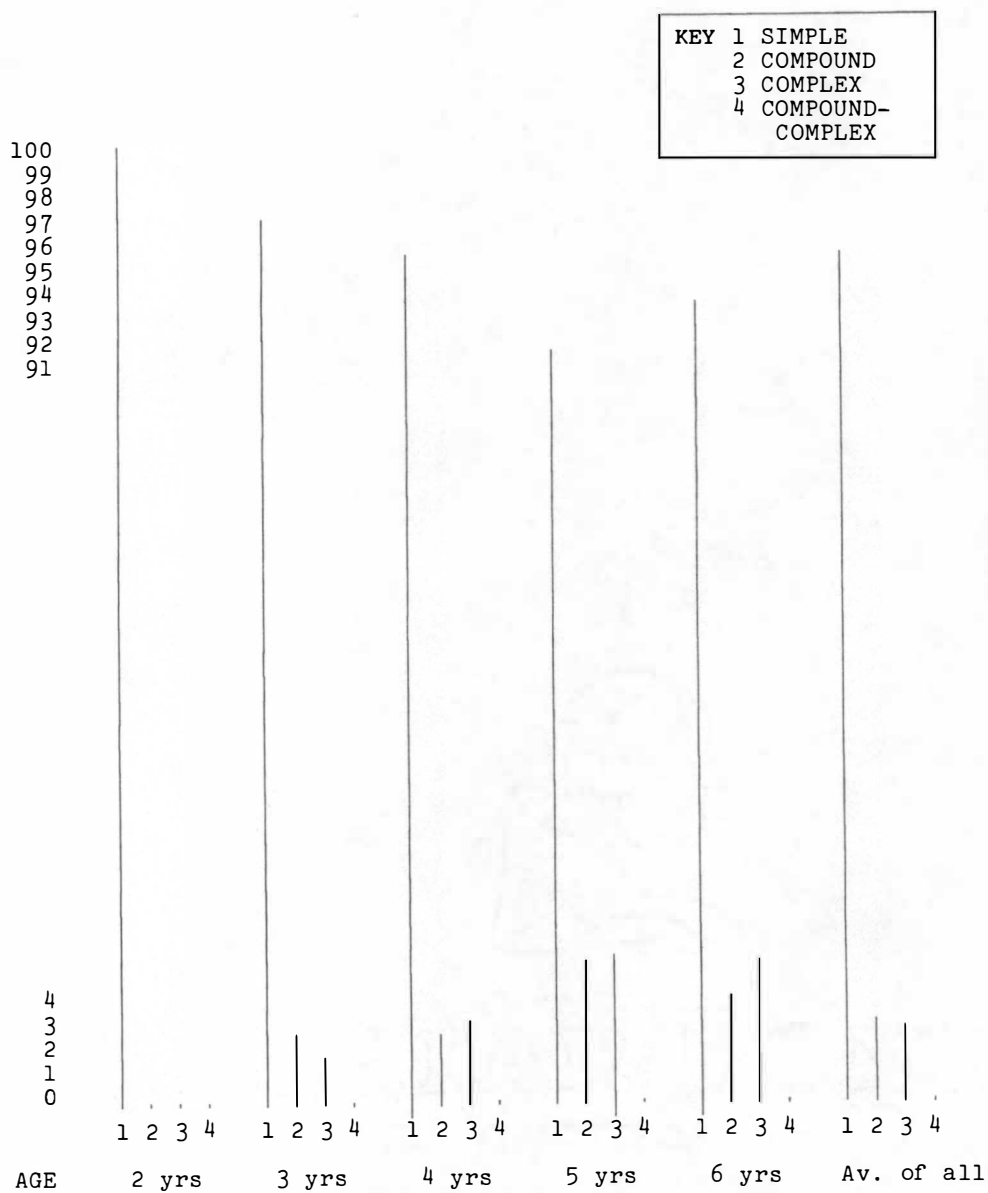


TABLE IV
 FREQUENCY OF TYPES OF SENTENCE
 STRUCTURE IN CHUN'S STUDY



CHAPTER TWO

CLAUSE TYPES IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH (Feature Mode)

2.1. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Pike's trimodal system of language analysis has been referred to in the first chapter (1.3.). The term trimodal is associated in Pike's overall conception with his 'principle of complementarity of viewpoints adopted to perceive a unit adequately' (Pike 1967:511). The perception of units and their characterization is the primary focus of Pike's work. The approach is taxonomic in nature. Classification of units from smallest to largest or vice versa is an objective. Such classification constitutes the framework of the model, setting up hierarchies of units dealing with phonological, grammatical, and lexical entities.

Units in each hierarchy must be, as has been indicated above, carefully defined. Feature, distribution, and manifestation are the three aspects of Pike's linguistic definitions. Extended explanations of these aspects of linguistic definition are contained in six of the seventeen chapters in his large work (Pike 1967: Chapters 6-11), with thumbnail summaries on pages 85-86 and 459-464. The following quotations introduce the terms (85-86):

The feature mode of an emic unit of activity will in general be viewed as composed of simultaneously occurring identificational-contrastive components, with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to stimulus-response features (including purpose or lexical meaning, where relevant)...

The manifestation mode of an emic unit of activity will often be viewed as composed of nonsimultaneously occurring physical variants (or nonsimultaneous components), with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to the hierarchy of the mechanisms of its physical production...

The distribution mode of an emic unit of activity will be seen as composed of relational components, including its class membership and its function in a slot of a hierarchically-ordered

larger construction (its external distribution), and its internal segmentation (its internal distribution), especially in reference to the hierarchy of mechanisms of its physical production.

In a footnote on page 85, one reads:

For feature mode one can in general read CONTRAST (contrastive-identificational components); for manifestation mode VARIATION (range of free, conditioned, or complex variants with physical component obligatory); for distribution mode DISTRIBUTION (occurrence in a class as member of that class, in a sequence of segments organized hierarchically, and in cells of a matrix made up of intersecting dimensions).

The requirement of using all three modes in an analysis insures an analytic definition (feature) supplemented by a synthetic characterization (distribution), further clarified by exemplification (manifestation). In the first, an intellectual or substantial whole is identified by being separated into its constituents for individual study. The second involves the study of relationships outside the entity that was originally in view, which connect it with a larger universe. Example (manifestation) approaches the actual as far as it is symbolically possible. Thus for our purposes here, we wish to first identify clause units in Keaukaha English. We want to discover significant differences between such units. We then want to know where these units occur as they relate to other clause units in the stream of speech. We also want to discover variation in the internal structure of the clause units delineated.

Before going on, it is worth noting that the word trimodal as well as hierarchy has on occasion been used in connection with the division of language and language study into phonology, grammar, and lexicon. Longacre was discussing this when he wrote 'Language is in some sense trimodally structured' (1968:I,vi), and Pike mentioned the 'theory of trimodal structure' regarding lexical and grammatical hierarchies (1967:573). Most generally, however, I believe hierarchy is restricted to use in connection with the phonological, lexical, and grammatical components of language description, and mode (or trimodal) is limited to the three perspectives already referred to in this section - feature, distribution, and manifestation. This is the case in Cook's very clear presentation, *Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis* (1969:168-171, *passim*). At any rate, the trimodal emphasis here is on the three-fold characterization of units rather than upon the tripartite hierarchical view of language in general.

The modes of feature, distribution, and manifestation are, according to Pike, a 'composite of characteristics' (1967:239). He writes (1967:86):

Each of these modes covers the same physical data, however, with a simultaneous structuring in these respective ways. Each of the modes, in turn, can be discovered only in reference to a system

which embraces all three, such that the units of each enter into a network of units characterized by and discoverable by their relationship to the entire system of modes and units of modes of which they are a part.

This view can be visualized as a triangle, with each angle in communication with the other two. From this it would seem that any order of presentation should be theoretically acceptable. Pike's Chapters 6-7-8 follow the order feature-distribution-manifestation; in Chapters 9-10-11 it is manifestation-feature-distribution; and Chapters 13 through 15 can be interpreted as analogous to feature-manifestation-distribution. For the single threading through the three modes, this analysis moves first to feature (identification of the units), then to distribution, and then to manifestation (actual occurrence of the units). As far as it is possible to give linear treatment to the subject, Chapters Two, Three, and Four deal with the three, respectively. Each mode will be discussed in some detail at the beginning of its presentation.

An explanation of *tagmeme* is given at the beginning of Section 2.2., where illustration is immediately at hand.

The feature mode of a unit is a form-meaning composite of that unit, that is, 'the formal and semantic characteristics which make the contrast ... and which permit its recognition or identification' (Pike 1967:426). Identification is the key word here. The principal component of the feature mode of a unit (in this case, the clause) is the total membership of its constituents (*ibid.*:200), the composition of the unit. This mode includes structural meaning as well as the distinctive semantic value of the unit. The structural meaning includes 'all the potential internal markers of the class which can identify' it or contrast it with other units (*ibid.*:196). 'The total of the simultaneous components ... include all its sequential components as well' (*ibid.*:294). These aspects of the feature mode of the clause will be presented in detail in the following sections of this chapter.

2.2. NUCLEAR CLAUSE TYPES

Clauses are defined in this study in accordance with the practice of analysts who recognize and regularly use the terms *stem*, *word*, *phrase*, *clause*, *sentence*, *paragraph*, and *discourse* (Longacre 1964:17). Longacre's definition, for example, is that a clause is 'a class of syntagmemes (that is, constructions) of a median hierarchical order ranking above such syntagmemes as the phrase and word and below such syntagmemes as the sentence and discourse' (*ibid.*:35).¹ More specific criteria for identifying the clause are the specification of predication² and isolability.³ In accordance with such criteria, therefore,

the starting point in this analysis is single affirmative predications, namely declarative clauses.

Two basic identifying characteristics of Keaukaha English are delimited in this study. These will be considered under the nomenclature types of clauses and classes of clauses. I use the term types (Chapter Two) with reference to constructions that contrast in their constituents. Here the focus is upon the internal structure of the clauses defined. I use the term classes (Chapter Three) in connection with constructions that contrast in their external distribution.⁴ This characterization emphasizes the place different clauses occur in the stream of speech. The two aspects of clauses clearly identify these units as separate from each other and also separate from other units in the grammatical hierarchy.

The characterizing term for the approach to the analysis presented here is tagmemics. This term is derived from the name used by Pike and others for the constituent unit(s) of a given grammatical construction, namely, tagmeme.⁵ The grammatical piece of speech or unit, called the tagmeme, consists simultaneously of a particular function the unit has in a construction, and the set of forms which occur as manifestations of that function (Pike 1966:1). (This combination has come to be referred to most familiarly as a 'slot-class correlative' (Brend 1968:13).) Longacre's definition (1964:15-16) is that 'the tagmeme is a functional point ... at which a set of items and/or sequences occur.' A construction (syntagmeme) is viewed as a sequence, wave, or string of two or more tagmemes. The construction in turn constitutes an entity one step more abstract than its constituents. It is something more than a mere sequence of units (Longacre 1964:7) in that the whole exhibits some kind of nucleation of interrelationship or both within itself.⁶ The presentation of syntagmemes is formally accomplished by formulaic representation. A tagmemic formula is first of all established by contrasts between one construction (or syntagmeme) and another on the basis of its component tagmemes, its internal composition. Formulas also make explicit the varying potential manifestations of each tagmeme. Each grammatical component symbolized in succeeding formulas and matrices in the paragraphs that follow is a clause level tagmeme. We turn first to a characterization of clause types, indicating the internal composition of different kinds of clauses in Hawaii English.

The clause types found in the data for Keaukaha English include the following: (1) the declarative clause types (constituting the major clauses of Hawaii English), (2) passive clauses, (3) expletive clauses,

(4) interrogative clauses, (5) imperative clauses. Each of these clause types has subvarieties. They are first characterized in the basic or nuclear form, followed in Section 2.3 by the possible peripheral element that can optionally be added to these basic forms of the clauses.

The approach here is to first identify the type and its subtypes by a formula presenting the internal composition (tagmemes) found in the type. The types are then characterized by depicting matrices that contrast the units presented. The first type, the declarative clause, is found to be basic to other types described after it. In each case, the identificational-contrastive features of the unit under discussion as it is distinguished from other clause units will be the focus of attention, remembering that types are set up dependent upon internal constituent structure.

2.2.1. Declarative Nuclei

Formulas 1 and 2 present the contrastive features of the nuclei of the major declarative clause types in Keaukaha English. These clauses are major (or basic) in the sense that all other clauses can be derived from them.

Formula 1 (Type A⁸): Declarative Predication Clause Nucleus

+ Subject + Predicate

(Examples below, Types A1 - A3)

Formula 2 (Type B): Declarative Comment Clause Nucleus

+ Topic + Comment

#1 *That* *out*

Subject and Topic differ in obligatory-optional status (Longacre 1964: 54). (Subjects are optional where situational meaning is a personal pronoun: *I, you, he, we, it.*) Predicate and Comment contrast in the number of their constituent tagmemes and also in the filler classes of their respective manifestations.⁹ By filler class we mean those linguistic units that can function as Predicate or Comment. The filler class with its function is the tagmeme in question. Graphic summary of the internal composition of the declarative clause types is presented in Matrix 1.

MATRIX 1					
MAJOR CLAUSE TYPES					
Constituent Tagmeme					
DECLARATIVE CLAUSE TYPE	Subject	Topic	Predicate	Comment	Number of Nuclear Contrasts
Type A	<u>+</u>		+		2
Type B		+		+	2

The clause types defined here also differ in expansion possibilities with peripheral tagmemes, all of which will be detailed in Section 2.3.

Type A of the declarative clauses consists of five subtypes.

Formula 3 (Type A1): Declarative Transitive Clause Nucleus

+ Subject-as-actor + Transitive Verb Phrase¹⁰ + Object
 #2 (I) forgot the other one

Formula 4 (Type A1a): Declarative Ditransitive Clause Nucleus

+ Subject-as-actor + Trans. VP + Ditr Object + Object
 #3 They present me lei
 #4 The boss supply the poi

Formula 5 (Type A1b): Declarative Attributive Clause Nucleus

+ Subject-as-actor + Trans. VP + Object + Attributive
 #5 You call it sea urchins

Formula 6 (Type A2): Declarative Intransitive Clause Nucleus

+ Subject-as-actor + Intransitive Verb Phrase
 #6 I 'm going

Formula 7 (Type A3): Declarative Equational Clause Nucleus

+ Subject-as-item + Equational VP + Equation
 #7 (It) is too much money

The matrix that will follow (Matrix 2) shows the specific contrasts between each Type A subtype with the others of the same type. Roman numeral cover symbols in the matrix indicate items specified by Longacre (given here in Note 9 of this chapter) and specifically expounded below, as criteria for establishing nuclear contrasts. Arabic numerals symbolize items additional to Longacre's list.

The additional three items are based upon the inclusion of structural meaning in the identification of units. Pike's position is that 'contrastiveness of types must not be determined, in my view, by formal considerations alone, but by the relationships of the data to a total form-meaning composite, in morphemics or tagmemics' (1967:472). Another statement by Pike is also pertinent. '... I find it valid to

include structural meaning within the various components which enter into a definition of a tagmeme, if for that particular tagmeme a structural meaning is clearly identifiable' (*ibid.*:278). These quotations pertain generally to all three of the additional items. As to Item (1) specifically, Ruth Brend's dissertation, written under the direction of Pike, distinguishes the equative clause nucleus from the other types in Mexican Spanish 'by its obligatory equation tagmeme, as well as by the different situational function (i.e., as item rather than as actor) of its subject tagmeme' (1968:23). The use of lexical features in grammatical analysis, as in Items (2) and (3), is a contemporary extension of Aristotle's definition by means of universals and particulars (Lyons 1969:337 ff.; n.b. Chomsky 1965:64, 82-87, 198; Lakoff 1965: D1 ff.; Fillmore 1968:24-26).

Contrasts in Matrix 2 are located by reading down the column of one of the pair of subtypes, to the horizontal row of the subtype to be contrasted. For example, the criteria which support the description of Type Alb as a syntagmeme in contrast with Type A2 are given in square (f). It will be noted that in every instance Longacre's minimum requirement of two structural contrasts (one of which must be in the nucleus) is fulfilled (Longacre 1964:18).

Interpretation of Roman and Arabic numerals is as follows.

- I. Object in Type A1 and Equation in Type A3 differ in obligatory-optional status.
- II. Total number of tagmemes differs in the various types (A2=2; A1, A3=3; Ala, Alb=4).
- III. There is a difference in the ordering of the Object in Type Ala and in Type Alb.
- IV. Transitive, Intransitive, and Equational Verbs consist of different manifestation classes, thus showing contrast in filler classes.
- V. The Ditransitive Object in Type Ala is distinctive in that, with *to* or *from* (depending on the particular verb filler) optionally preceding it, it is subject to permutation following the Object (see section 4.4.):

#3 + *They present lei to me*

- VI. Type Alb Attributive feature analysis is $\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{animate} \\ + \text{concrete} \end{array} \right]$.

Also, fillers of the Object of this type and of the Attributive can occur respectively in the Topic and the Comment slots of Type B:

#5 + *It sea urchins*

- VII. Ordering of the Object differs in Type A1 and Type Ala.

Certain other criteria for establishing contrasts in these clause subtypes, additional to the kinds Longacre set up, are the following.

1. There are two varieties of subject which have differing functions in relation to non-verbal tagmemes in the predicates of these clauses. The predicate tagmemes in the Equation in Type A3 are semantically identical, similar, or attributive to the 'Subject-as-item,' whereas the predicate tagmemes in all other clause subtypes may not be so related to the 'Subject-as-actor.' (The Topic-Comment relationship in Type B is similar to the nonverbal tagmemes in Type A3.)
2. Type A2 Subject may be either animate or inanimate, but must be concrete, whereas Subjects of Types A1 and A3 have a contrasting feature analysis - either animate or inanimate, and either concrete or not.
3. Subjects of Types A1a and A1b are both animate and concrete, in contrast with both sets in the foregoing item.

Matrix 2, incorporating these features of contrast, follows.

MATRIX 2				
NUCLEAR CONTRASTS AMONG SUBTYPES OF TYPE A CLAUSES				
	Type A1	Type A1a	Type A1b	Type A2
Type A1a	II (a) 3 VII			
Type A1b	II (b) 3	III (c) V VI		
Type A2	II (d) 2 IV	II (e) 2 IV 3	II (f) 2 IV 3	
Type A3	I (g) 1 IV	II (h) 1 IV 3 V	II (i) 1 IV 3	II (j) 2 IV

Key: Summary of Type A clauses is as follows. Examples of all major declarative clause types are to be found in Appendix A.

Type A1: + Subject-as-actor + Transitive VP ± Object

Type A1a: + Subject-as-actor + Trans VP ± Ditransitive Obj
+ Object

Type A1b: + Subj-as-actor + Trans VP ± Obj ± Attributive

Type A2: + Subject-as-actor + Intransitive VP

Type A3: + Subject-as-item + Equational VP + Equation

The following is related to Declarative Clause Type Alb:

(T4) Passive Type Alb Clause

SD: + Subject + Trans VP + Obj + Attr + X
 1 2 3 4 5
 SC: + 3 + Passive Aux + 2-en + 4 + 5
 #12 *The younger one was named king*

With the first two of these four passives, the possibility seems to exist for the additional phrase 'by Subject.' But only on one occasion with each type was an utterance observed which could be so construed:

#13 *Did you get burnt by the fire?*¹³ Type A1
 #14 *That's been broadcast to you by ABC News* Type Ala

This latter of course is Passive Type Ala₁ Clause. A similar prepositional phrase with *by* did not occur in Passive Type Ala₂ Clause. Moreover, Example 13 is the sole Interrogative Passive (and it happened to occur when a twelve-year-old girl was inventing a sentence).

Passive Type A1 seems to be the only type productive to a general extent.

2.2.3. Expletive Clauses

The expletive clause types are related to both declarative and passive clause nuclei. The order of presentation here is guided by the frequency of their occurrence in the recorded material. The first of the three occurs among young children, teenagers, and adults. There were only two instances of the second type, by a man in conversation with others from Keaukaha, and by a high school girl in beginning a fairly well known story. Example #18 is the only occurrence of its type. It was said by a man, a Keaukaha resident who was born and who grew up on Niihau (of 'pure' Hawaiian descent).

(T5) Expletive₁ Clause

SD: Type A3 = + Subject + Equ VP + Equ + X
 1 2 3 4
 SC: + *There* + 2 + 1 + 4 + 3
 #15 *There were lots of brothers*
 (Expletive) (Expletive Subject)

The following restrictions seem to apply:

Type A3 Subject = indefinite pronoun/'determiner NP'
 Equ = LOC/T

(T6) Expletive₂ Clause

SD: Type A2 = + Subject + Intrans VP + X
 1 2 3
 SC: + *There* + 2 + 1 + 3
 #16 *There 'll come a time ...*
 #17 *Once in a land there lived five Chinese brothers ...*

The first set of information questions (QInfo₁ Clause) - all transformations of a declarative clause nucleus - is made up as follows.

(T9) QInfo_{1a} Clause

SD: Type A1/A2 = + Subject₁ + Predicate₂

SC: + Q1 + 2

#29	<i>Who</i>	<i>get money</i>	Type A1
#30	<i>Who</i>	<i>'s going</i>	A2

(T10) QInfo_{1b} Clause

SD: Type A1/A1b/A2/A3/B = + $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Subject} \\ \text{Topic} \end{array} \right]_1$ + Y₂ + $\left[\begin{array}{c} x \\ \text{Comment} \end{array} \right]_3$

SC: + Q3 + 1 + 2

x = Object/Attributive/Locative/Manner/Time/Duration/Cause¹⁷

Y = Predicate minus x/Ø

#31	<i>What</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>got</i>	(Obj)	Type A1
#32	<i>What</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>call this</i>	(Attr)	A1b
#33	<i>What</i>	<i>his name</i>		(Comment)	B
#34	<i>Where</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>was going tomorrow</i>	(Locative)	A2
#35	<i>Where</i>	<i>the icebox</i>		(Comment)	B
#36	<i>How</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>say it</i>	(Manner)	A1
#37	<i>How</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>today make at Coconut Grove</i>	(Manner)	A2
#38	<i>How long</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>been doing that</i>	(Duration)	A1
#39	<i>What time</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>coming back</i>	(Time)	A2
#40	<i>How long</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>been in the Islands now, Gloria</i>	(Duration)	A3
#41	<i>Why</i>		<i>so sad</i>	(Cause)	B

(T11) QInfo_{1c} Clause

SD: Type A3/Expl₁ = + $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Subj-as-item} \\ \text{Expletive} \end{array} \right]_1$ + Equ₂ VP + Equ₃ + X₄

SC: + Q3 + 2 + 1 + 4

#42	<i>What</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>that</i>	Type A3
#43	<i>Where</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>it</i>	A3
#44	<i>Who</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>this one for</i>	A3
#45	<i>How old</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>you</i>	A3
#46	<i>How much kings</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>there</i>	Expl ₁

A second set of information questions (QInfo₂ Clause) is described by the following transformation.

(T12) QInfo₂ Clause

SD: QConf₁ (Type A1, Alb, A2) = + Aux₁ + Subj₂ + V₃ + y₄ + Y₅

SC: + Q₄ + 1 + 2 + 3 + 5

V = VP minus Aux

y = Object/Attr/Loc/Man/Time

Y = Predicate minus y

#47	<i>What</i>	<i>does</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>mean</i>	(Obj)	Type A1
#47a	<i>What</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>y'</i>	<i>call</i>	(Attr)	Alb
#48	<i>Where</i>	<i>did</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>go</i>	(Loc)	A2
#49	<i>How</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>like that</i>	(Man)	A1
#50	<i>What time</i>	<i>did</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>go over there</i>	(Time)	A2

2.2.5. Imperative Clauses

As with interrogatives, it is assumed that characteristic intonation would be described as a sentence level feature.¹⁸ 'Imperative' in this instance refers to clause structures related to commands only,¹⁹ though, as Lyons and Bolinger illustrate (Lyons 1969:307-309; Bolinger 1970: 346, 358-359), the distinction between giving commands, making statements, asking questions, and stating conditions is not always structurally clear and separate.

The most widely used imperative clause type is derivable from Type A clauses and is described as follows.

(T13) Imperative₁ Clause

SD: Type A Clauses = ± Subject₁ + Verb₂ + X₃

SC: + you_(Imperative₁ Subject) + 2 Infinitive²⁰ + 3

#51	<i>You</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>hers</i>	Type A1
#52		<i>Tell</i>	<i>me what beach</i>	Ala
#53	<i>You</i>	<i>listen</i>	<i>to Neki</i>	A2
#54	<i>Oh,</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>quiet</i>	A3

In a much less used variety, the predicate includes special fillers. The sole filler of the Verb Phrase is *let*. The filler of the Object is a declarative clause in which the subject is a pronoun, and the pronoun is always the 'objective' form (e.g., *me*, *him*, *her*, *us*, *them*).

Imperative₂ Clause = ± Imper₁ Subj + Imper₂ VP + Imper₂ Obj

#55	<i>You</i>	<i>let</i>	<i>her read that</i>	Type A1
#56		<i>Let</i>	<i>em make the money</i>	A1
#57		<i>Lem-</i>	<i>me see</i>	A1

#58	<i>Let's</i> ²¹	<i>play</i>	Type A1
#59	<i>Let</i>	<i>me see uh now</i>	A1
#60	<i>Let</i>	<i>her rest</i>	A2

It is to be noted that Keaukaha English imperatives do not seem to exhibit either reflexives (*yourself* or others) or tags (e.g., *will you* and others), both having been important in recent discussions of the English imperative.²² However, this may well be a limitation in the data.

2.2.6. Summary of Nuclear Clause Structures

The following matrix summarizes and gives an overview of actually occurring Keaukaha English clause structures. The classification in the lefthand column indicates an 'order of derivability' according to this analysis, i.e., the secondary being basically related to the primary, and the tertiary to both the secondary and primary. The numbers in the boxes indicate the clauses as numbered in the preceding pages of this section. The lettered items in the column headed 'QConf Sent INTON' (Question-Confirmation Sentence Intonation) will be referred to in Chapter Five. Examples for the latter would be the following.

- (a) *They do any weaving now over there?*
- (b) *You just came back from the Mainland?*
- (c) *Been in the Islands long?*
- (d) *He tired?*

This matrix purports to indicate all types of clause structure actually observed occurring independently. All occurrences in the data are documented in this and in each of the following matrices. Empty cells therefore indicate non-occurrences in this sample of any given type.

Appendix A contains examples of the major declarative clause types.

It will be observed that throughout this study the matrices are purely descriptive of types and do not present the dimension of frequency in usage of a number of items.²³

MATRIX 3

KEAUKAHA ENGLISH NUCLEAR CLAUSE STRUCTURES

	Declarative	Interrogative							Imperative
		QConf Sent INTON	Conf ₁ Cl #Aux	Conf ₂ Cl eh#	Info _{1a} Cl WH subj	Info _{1b} Cl WH subj	Info _{1c} Cl WH equ	Info ₂ Cl WH+Aux	
Primary	A1 2	a	19	25	29	31		47	51
	A1a 3		22						52
	A1b 5					32		47a	
	A2 6	b	23	26	30	39		48	53
	A3 7	c	24	27		40	42		54
	B 1	d		28		33			
Secondary	Passive A1 8		13						
	A1a ₁ 9								
	A1a ₂ 10								
	A1b 12								
Tertiary	Expletive ₁ 15						46		
	Expl ₂ 16								
	Expl ₃ 18								

The above interprets only single occurring clause structures in the data. Embedded clauses will be treated in Chapter Three.

At this point, a further word about the use of matrix in this study is in order. Its use has been deliberate for the purpose of displaying facts in a compact way. Inasmuch as mathematical implications have generally not been intended, some readers would probably prefer to call the presentations here 'tables'. The displays labeled matrices are similar to certain ones so labeled in tagmemic publications, for example, in Pike's *Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages* (1966:57, 61, 164, *passim*). Cook explains (1969: 49-50, 156) that further uses of the matrix in linguistic analysis and description are possible. However, his example of 'clause level matrix' (69) is typical of most of the matrices employed in this description. The use here conforms to Cook's general statement that 'a grammatical matrix charts constructions in different dimensions, or parameters' (1969:50). In the 1967 edition of his large work, Pike has summarized his thinking at the time of that writing (473, *passim*). Matrices are to be used as 'the structured setting within which a unit occurs,' i.e., as 'displays of intersecting contrastive vectors of a system' (*ibid.*:443). A matrix may consist of intersecting dimensions of contrasting categories, in which 'formatives' (which this study interprets as 'manifested types') fill the cells at the intersection of the categories (*ibid.*:548). The dimensions may be of various kinds (*ibid.*:511). Some of these, which Pike specified in 'Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions' (1962:232-233), are the following.

- (1) Component Times Component
- (2) Unit Times Component
- (3) Construction Times Tagmeme Class
- (4) Unit Times Relevance (or Occurrence) Type
- (5) Unit Times Unit

Matrix 4 is (1) Component X Component. Matrices 5, 6 and 7 are (2) Unit X Component. Matrices 1, 10, 11, 12 and 13 are (3) Construction X Tagmeme Class. Matrices 14 and 15 are (4) Unit X Relevance Type. Matrices 2, 3, 8 and 9 are (5) Unit X Unit.

2.3. PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES (Found in the Various Clause Types)

Clauses may be expanded beyond the nucleus described above through the addition of peripheral tagmemes. Peripheral tagmemes are by nature optional, and they appear with different clause types (Longacre 1964:85). This analysis recognizes twelve varieties, semantically describable in the following matrix. The contrasting features of the matrix are concrete and animate, semantic entities that are self explanatory. Here, as in the earlier section, we first identify the tagmemes and then indicate their distribution relative to each other

and to the nucleus of the clause.

<p>MATRIX 4</p> <p>FEATURES OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES</p>			
	+ animate	<u>±</u> animate	- animate
+ concrete	BENefactor	COMitative	
<u>±</u> concrete		RESpect INSTRument DIRection MANner	LOCative
- concrete			DURation CONDition Time PURPose Cause

Examples of each peripheral tagmeme will be given in Appendix B.

Each peripheral tagmeme can occur as an expansion of the clause type and in the position designated in the following matrix (Matrix 5a). This matrix summarizes the distribution of peripheral tagmemes in the various clause types as used by both children and adults in common. Positions are as follows.

a = /# _____ Nucleus

b = / _____ Verb

c = / _____ Object, Equation, Comment, Particle

d = /Nucleus _____ #

MATRIX 5a				
CLAUSE TYPE DISTRIBUTION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES IN USE BY BOTH CHILDREN AND ADULTS				
PERIPHERAL TAGMEME	d	POSITION a	b	c
T	A1, A2, A3, B	A1, A2, A3, B, Ala, Pass	A1	A1
DUR	A1, A3		A1, A2	A3
LOC	A1, A2, B	A1, A3		
COND		A1, A2, A3		
INSTR		A1		
DIR	A1, A2			
MAN	A1, A2			
COM	A1, A2			
PURP	A1, A2			
LOC T	A1, A2			
BEN	A1			
DIR LOC	A2			
LOC DUR	A2			
LOC PURP	A2			

Matrix 5a draws attention to the fact that twelve peripheral tagmemes and tagmeme sequences occur after the nucleus.

T
DUR
LOC
DIR
MAN
COM
PURP
LOC T
BEN
DIR LOC
LOC DUR
LOC PURP

In the position before the nucleus four peripheral tagmemes occur.

T
LOC

COND

INSTR

The same two peripheral tagmemes occur elsewhere (before the verb and before the object or equation).

T

DUR

Matrix 5b presents the facts that peripheral tagmemes occur

- (a) in six clause types before the nucleus (i.e., A1, Ala, A2, A3, B, and Passive);
- (b) in four clause types after the nucleus (A1, A2, A3, and B);
- (c) in A1 and A2 before the verb; and
- (d) in A1 and A3 before object, equation, comment, and particle.

MATRIX 5b				
PERIPHERAL TAGMEME DISTRIBUTION IN USE BY BOTH CHILDREN AND ADULTS				
CLAUSE TYPE	a	d	b	c
A1	T, LOC, COND, INSTR	T, LOC, DUR, DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, BEN	T, DUR	T
A3	T, LOC, COND	T, DUR		DUR
A2	T, COND	T, LOC, DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, DIR LOC, LOC DUR, LOC PURP	DUR	
B	T	T, LOC		
Ala	T			
Pass	T			

From Matrix 5c one adduces that there are five patterns of distribution of peripheral tagmemes in Type A1 clause, i.e.,

T	in positions	a b c d
LOC	in positions	a d
DUR	in positions	b d
COND, INSTR	in position	a
DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, BEN	in position	d

four patterns of distribution in Type A2 clause,

T	in positions	a d
COND	in position	a
DUR	in position	b
LOC, DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, DIR LOC, LOC DUR, LOC PURP	in position	d

three patterns of distribution in Type A3 clause,

T	in positions	a	d
DIR	in positions	c	d
LOC, COND	in position	a	

two patterns of distribution in Type B clause,

T	in positions	a	d
LOC	in position		d

one pattern of distribution in Type Ala and in Passive clause,

T	in position	a
---	-------------	---

MATRIX 5c						
POSITION-DISTRIBUTION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES IN CLAUSE TYPES IN USE BY BOTH CHILDREN AND ADULTS						
PERIPHERAL TAGMEME	CLAUSE TYPE					
	A1	A2	A3	B	Ala	Pass
T	a b c d	a d	a d	a d	a	a
LOC	a d	d	a	d		
DUR	b d	b	c d			
COND	a	a	a			
DIR	d	d				
MAN	d	d				
COM	d	d				
PURP	d	d				
LOC T	d	d				
BEN	d					
INSTR	a					
DIR LOC		d				
LOC DUR		d				
LOC PURP		d				

KEY: a = /# _____ Nucleus
 b = / _____ Verb
 c = / _____ Object, Equation, Comment, Particle
 d = /Nucleus _____ #

From the vertical columns of this same matrix, it is apparent that twelve different peripheral tagmemes and tagmeme sequences occur with Type A2, eleven with Type A1, four with Type A3, two with type B, and one each with Type Ala and Passive.

The horizontal rows show the occurrence of

T	in twelve positions throughout clause types;
LOC, DUR	in five positions
COND	in three positions
DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T	in two positions
BEN, INSTR, DIR LOC, LOC DUR, LOC PURP	in one position throughout clause types.

Distributional use of the patterns from Matrix 5c is seen in Matrix 5d. Positioning only after the nucleus occurs in sixteen instances; only before the nucleus in seven instances; both before and after the nucleus in four instances; in all four positions in one instance; before the verb and after the nucleus in one instance; before the object and after the nucleus in one instance; and before the verb in one instance.

MATRIX 5d						
PATTERN DISTRIBUTION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES IN USE BY BOTH CHILDREN AND ADULTS						
PATTERN	CLAUSE TYPE					
	A1	A2	A3	B	Ala	Pass
d	LOC, DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, DIR LOC, LOC DUR, LOC PURP	DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, BEN		LOC		
a	COND	COND, INSTR	LOC, COND		T	T
a d	T	LOC	T	T		
a b c d		T				
b d		DUR				
c d			DUR			
b	DUR					

For a tagmemic statement as to the abstract order of occurrence of all observed sequences of peripheral tagmemes, the following is a beginning, added of course to the nucleus.

+ DIR + LOC + DUR/COND + MAN/COM + T/RESP/DIR/DUR
+ PURP/COM/T + INSTR/LOC/C/BEN

However, this does not specify the fact that if DIR is in one slot, it may not occur in the other position indicated. Longacre (1964:42) suggests the following notation for such a situation of mutual exclusion:

$\pm \overline{\text{DIR}} \dots / \dots \overline{\text{DIR}}$

Cook's suggestion (1969:19) is the formulation $\pm A \dots \mp A$, another possible representation. With the length of this formula, I prefer the following, in which unit symbols that are redundant are indicated as mutually exclusive by \pm and \mp , and where items occurring in the same order are placed in a column.

$\pm \text{DIR}$	$\pm \text{LOC}$	$\pm \text{DUR}$	$\pm \text{MAN}$	$\pm \text{T}$	$\pm \text{PURP}$	$\pm \text{INSTR}$
		$\pm \text{COND}$	$\pm \text{COM}$	$\pm \text{RESP}$	$\mp \text{COM}$	$\pm \text{LOC}$
			$\mp \text{DIR}$	$\mp \text{T}$		$\pm \text{C}$
			$\mp \text{DUR}$			$\pm \text{BEN}$

The subscripts in the following figure (Figure 1) are intended to represent the same possibilities, with the same columns indicated. One further limitation must be made. In accordance with the data, sequences are limited to no more than three tagmemes, and each tagmeme must be different.

Figure 1 provides a mapping of all occurrences of sequences of differing peripheral tagmemes observed in this study of Keaukaha English. (Sequences containing a repetition of a given peripheral tagmeme will be included in Section 4.2, which considers appositives.) It is to be read from left to right. Thus the horizontal lines from DIR_1 to LOC_1 represent the occurrence of $\text{DIR}_{\text{irection}}\text{-LOC}_{\text{ative}}$. Matrix 6 (following in this section) gives the location numbers of examples of this particular sequence as found in Appendix B:

#202 ... *come this out/the water*

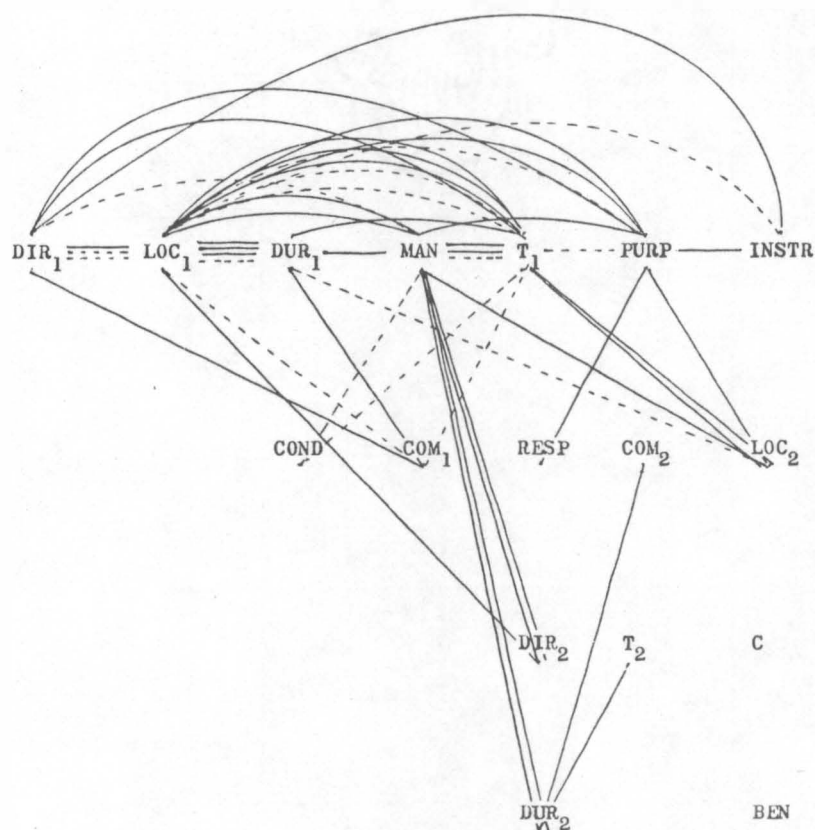
#112 ... *they could go down/to Thailand and Singapore
and other places ...*

Each line in Figure 1 is a representation of one type of a peripheral sequence to be given in Appendix B (which will be identified in the next matrix - Matrix 6). Solid lines represent usage by adults, and dotted lines by children. The solid line between DIR_1 and LOC_1 symbolizes Example #112 in Appendix B. One of the dotted lines is called for by #202, and the second dotted line represents the same sequence as part of Example #155 (DIR LOC INSTR):

... *I go up/to the pool/on my bike*

Each line is similarly called for by a sequence in the data.

FIGURE 1
ABSTRACT SCHEME OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEME SEQUENCES



Cause and Benefactor do not seem to occur except singly with clause nucleus.

Matrix 6 constitutes a full analysis as to the occurrence of peripheral tagmeme types, with individuals under twelve years of age and with those over that age, in the clause types recognized in Section 2.2. Order of listing of peripheral tagmemes follows that suggested by Figure 1. (Beginning with Matrix 6, where two symbols occur on a single line, the item on the lefthand side represents children - individuals twelve years of age and younger, and that on the right represents adults - over twelve years of age.)

Examples corresponding to each number are given in Appendix B.

MATRIX 6										
DISTRIBUTION OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEME TYPES (CONTRASTING CHILDREN AND ADULTS)										
PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES	CLAUSE TYPES									
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B	Pass	Al	Expl ₁	Expl ₂	Expl ₃
/# Nucl										
LOC	1 2		120	3 4			5 6			
DUR			7							
COND	10 148	8	9 111	121 118						
MAN					11					
COM	12									
T	13 14	15 16	17 18	19 20	21 22	23 24	205			
RESP	25			26	27					
INSTR	28 29			30						
C	138									
DUR LOC				32						
COND T			142							
T LOC										34
<hr/>										
/ _ Verb										
DIR	35									
DUR	36 37	38	39 40	41						
COND			42							
T	43 44		45	46						
<hr/>										
Obj Equ / Comm Ptcl										
DIR	47									
LOC	31 48									
DUR				49 50	51					
MAN	51a									
COM	52									
T	53 54			55						
RESP				56						
<hr/>										
/Nucl _#										
DIR	57 58		59 60							
LOC	61 62	33	63 64	65	66 67	68 69				70

MATRIX 6 (continued)

PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES	CLAUSE TYPES								
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B	Pass A1	Expl ₁	Expl ₂	Expl ₃
/Nuc1_#									
DUR	71 72		73	74 75	76		77		
COND			123			122			
MAN	78 79		80 81		82				
COM	83 84		85 86	87					
T	88 89	90	91 92	93 94	95 96	97			
EEN	98 99								
PURP	100 101		102 103	204					
INSTR			104			105			
RESP		106	107	108	110				
DIR LOC			202 112						
DIR MAN			113						
DIR COM			114						
DIR T			154						
DIR PURP			115						
DIR INSTR			116						
LOC DUR	124		125 126						
LOC MAN			127						
LOC COM			128						
LOC T	129 130		131 132	133					
LOC DIR			134						
LOC PURP			135 136			137			
DUR MAN	139								
DUR T	140								
COND MAN	141								
MAN T			143	119					
MAN DIR	144		117						
MAN DUR			145						
MAN LOC			146						
COM T			147						
T PURP	149								
T LOC		161							
RESP PURP				152					
PURP LOC				153					
DIR LOC INSTR			155						
LOC DUR COM			156						
LOC MAN T			157						
MAN PURP INSTR			158						
MAN DUR COM			159						
COM DUR T			160						

The foregoing indicates of course that the peripheral tagmemes have contrasting semantic structure and distribution, thereby substantiating the identification of the various peripheral tagmemes.

The instances of usage by both children and adults (detailed in Matrix 6, preceding) are indicated by two example numbers in a single cell, the lefthand one representing a child and the righthand one an adult. One number in a cell in the lefthand position indicates use by children only, and in the righthand position, by adults only.

This study does not intend to emphasize contrasting usage by children and adults. Contrasts are commented upon in order to be indicative only, in a preliminary way. As to the peripheral tagmemes, it is evident (as Table Va in Section 5.3. summarizes) that whereas mutual usage of these tagmemes in all positions in clause types accounts for forty instances, instances exclusively children's total only twenty-four in comparison with fifty-one of those exclusively adults'. The three sets of items and their percentages are as follows.

	Clause Type	Total Number of Peripheral Tagmemes	Percentage of Total
Combined Children-Adult Data	A1	16	40.0
	A2	13	32.5
	A3	6	15.0
	B	3	7.5
	Ala	1	2.5
	Pass	1	2.5
Children Only	A2	11	45.8
	Expl	4	16.7
	A1	3	12.5
	A3	2	8.3
	Ala	2	8.3
	B	1	4.15
	Pass	1	4.15
Adults Only	A2	16	31.4
	A3	12	23.5
	A1	9	17.6
	B	5	9.8
	Pass	4	7.8
	Ala	3	5.9
	Expl	2	3.9

Among observations to be drawn from the above are the following.

(a) Absence of mutual use with Expletive, although both groups use that clause type, the percentage for children being 16.7 compared

with 3.9 for adults.

(b) High percentage in the use of Type A2 (intransitive) with peripheral tagmemes by children (45.8 for children only, 31.4 for adults only, 32.5 for usage in common).

(c) Higher percentage (8.3) in use of Type A1a (ditransitive) by children only than by adults only (5.9), the figure for the combined group being 2.5.

(d) Lower percentage in use of Type B by children only (4.15 as compared with 9.8 by adults only, and 7.5 for children-adults).

(e) Lower percentage in use of Passive by children only (4.15) when compared with adults only (7.8), with the figure for children-adults being 2.5.

(f) Lower percentage in use of Type A3 (Equational) by children only (8.3) compared with adults only (23.5) and with the combined group (15.0).

(g) Absence of Type A1b in all three of these sets involving peripheral tagmemes.

2.4. NEGATIVE TAGMEME

In his work on tagmemic analysis, Cook has indicated that the negative 'is best handled at the level of the verb phrase, at least in English' (1969:41), that it 'is best expressed at the level of the phrase as one optional element in the phrase level string' (*ibid.*:72). Recent tagmemic analyses²⁴ are in accord with this recommendation, but they treat languages with predication in which a verb is obligatory. Keaukaha English, of course, includes both verbal (Type A) and nominal (Type B) predication, and since Type B clauses are negated, the clause is here analyzed as one of the levels in which the negative is an optional element.²⁵

Matrix 7 gives the patterns of distribution of negative tagmas²⁶ in clause types. Appendix E contains examples corresponding to the numbers.

MATRIX 7								
DISTRIBUTION OF NEGATIVE TAGMEME IN CLAUSE TYPES								
NEGATIVE TAGMAS	CLAUSE TYPES							
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B	Pass A1	Expl ₁	
<i>no</i>	a 1	a 2	a 3	a 4				
<i>never</i>	a 5	a 6	a 7	a 8				
<i>not</i>	a 9	a 10			a 11		a 12	a 13
					b 14	b 15		
	c 16	c 17		c 18	c 19		c 21	c 22
					c 20			
					d 23			
					e 24			
<i>n't</i>	c 25	c 26	c 27	c 28	c 29		c 32	c 33
				c 30	c 31			c 34
				d 35	d 36			
	f 37	f 38	f 39	f 40				
	g 41			g 42				

Key to Matrix 7:

a = /Subject____(Aux) Main Verb

b = /Topic____Comment

c = /First (or only) Aux____Remaining Verb Phrase

d = /Equ Verb____Equation

e = /Adverb____Noun Phrase

f = /First (or only) Aux____Subject

g = /Aux____Predicate other than Verb Phrase

Matrix 7 reveals the overall identically restricted distribution of *no* and *never* (/Subject____(Aux) Main Verb); the overlapping distribution of *not* with *no* and *never* (/Subject____(Aux) Main Verb) and with *n't* (/First or only Aux____Remaining Verb Phrase, and

/Equational Verb____Equation); the distinctive distribution of *not* (/Topic____Comment, and /adverb____Noun Phrase); and the distinctive distribution of *n't* (/First or only Aux____Subject, and /Aux____Predicate other than Verb Phrase).

Classification of usage according to age groups indicates that

(a) the negative tagmeme, appearing in the contracted form, is used with the Expletive by children only;

(b) the negative is used similarly by both children and adults in Type B and in Passive clauses (*not* with Type B, and *not* and *n't* with Passive).

2.5. TAGMEME FILLER CLASSES

Early tagmemic theory suggested that all aspects of the distribution of units be discussed under the distribution mode. Thus the distribution of filler classes within the clause might be included at a later stage in the description. The inclusion of this section in the chapter on the feature mode constitutes the latest revision of Pike's recommendations regarding presentation of a description. (Ruth Brend, for example, included similar information in her third chapter, which also contains information as to periphery and permutations.) According to the quotation above (23-24) from Pike (1967:85), 'internal segmentation (internal distribution)' was earlier considered as a distributional characteristic. But a footnote on the same page states Pike's reconsideration:

This term (internal distribution) has not appeared frequently in recent tagmemic writings. The included sequence of tagmemes characterizing a construction has by Crawford been referred to the feature mode. I am attempting to follow him in this, but the implications are not yet clear enough to allow full revision here.

Further on, he writes, 'one of the characteristic components of the feature mode of a tagmeme is the particular distribution class which manifests it' (196), and the following rephrasing of his thinking also indicates the realignment of filler classes into whatever section considers the set-slot correlation: 'It is the structural, reciprocal correlation of a class of morphemes with a tagmemic slot which constitutes the tagmeme' (218).

On pages 459-460, he recapitulates the changes incorporated in his latest writing. Among seven other items, he notes: 'We have reassigned internal structure of a hypermorpheme (on page 451 he equates this with syntagmeme) type in terms of tagmeme sequences, to the feature mode of the construction under the impact of work in Crawford (1963)'. Now that it has been done, such inclusion seems quite logical as a part of the analytic definition, so we proceed to discuss filler classes of clause tagmemes in this section.

The functional tagmemic slots in clause nuclei and clause variants are filled by individual 'concrete forms', in W.A. Cook's term (1969: 147), and these individual forms constitute filler classes. Such filler classes for the tagmemes identified in Keaukaha English clause structure will be presented.

A full analysis of the relevant phrase structures, however, has not been made. As Ruth Brend notes, 'such an analysis would involve a complete study of all levels of ... grammar' (1968:47). However, a tentative projection of nominal, adjectival, and verbal phrase structure, given in Appendix F, provides a means of describing the filler classes of clause tagmemes sufficient for our purposes.

Reference is now made to Appendix F for an understanding of the labels for filler classes. All fillers with the 'S' label are phrases²⁷ with a single head, which are the more usual type in English dialects. The 'D' prefix labels constructions with double phrase components. Examination of the Appendix shows dialect innovations in morpheme selection and in structure even within the determiner noun phrases. But among the 'D' constructions are additional Keaukaha English innovations. The first two fillers (*you folks*, *you guys*) in D1a, Double Nominal Phrase, have been added to in considerable variety, again both as to filler and filler class. Also, phrases of this kind are used in D2, Possessive Nominal Phrase. Similar expanded use of another phrase syntagmeme is seen in D1x, Reverse Nominal Phrase. With subcategory D1a, the first member particularly specifies or limits the second member; with D1x, the second member is a qualifier of the first.

The following description makes use of those labels formulated in Appendix F. Examples corresponding to the numbers in the cells can be found in Appendix G.

2.5.1. Nuclear Tagmeme Filler Classes

2.5.1a. Non-Verbal Nuclear Tagmeme Filler Classes

The nonverbal nuclear filler classes are identified and their distribution in the clause type tagmemes are indicated by Matrix 8. (See Appendix A for summary of major types.)

MATRIX 8										
FILLER CLASSES OF NON-VERBAL NUCLEAR TAGMEMES IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH DECLARATIVE CLAUSES										
FILLER CLASS	A1	Ala	Alb	A2	A3	Pass A1	Pass Ala ₁	Pass Ala ₂	Pass Alb	Expl ₁
S1a	1	10	16	18	26	36	41	43	44	
S1b	2			19	27	37				46
S1c					28					
S1d					29					
S1a ₁		11			30					
S1a ₂	3									
S2a	4	12	17	20	31	38	42		45	47
S2b	5	13		21	32					
D1a	6			22						
D2	7	14		23	33	39				
S1/2/D2 + MOD	8	15		24	34	40				48
rel cl ²⁸					35					
inf cl					96					
coord NP	9			25						
FILLER CLASS	TOPIC B	OBJECT A1	Ala	Alb	DITR Ala	ATTR Alb	EQU A3	COMMENT B		
S1a	49	62	84	95	98					
S1b	50	63	85		99					
S1c		64								120
S1d		65					105			
S1e		66								
S1f		67								
S1g							106			121
S1a ₁	51	68								
S2a	52	69	86	97	100	104	107			122
S2b	53	70			101		108			
D1a	54	71	87				109			
D1a + MOD							109a			123
D1x		72			102					
D2	55	73	88		103		110			
S1/2/D2 + MOD	56	74	89				111			
rel cl	57	75	90				112			
compl ²⁹		76	91				113			123a
inf cl	58	77	92				114			124

MATRIX 8 (continued)								
FILLER CLASS	TOPIC B	OBJECT AL	Ala	Alb	DITR Ala	ATTR Alb	EQU A3	COMMENT B
dep cl ³⁰	59	78	93				115	
Decl cl		79	94				119	
Pass cl			128					
Interr cl			127					
Imper cl		61						
prep phr	60	81	100				117	125
adj phr							118	126
coord NP		80					116	

2.5.1b. Verbal Nuclear Tagmeme Filler Classes

The nuclear designations **Verb Phrase** for all Type A clauses in Section 2.2. constitute the verbal tagmeme filler class. Further sub-classification has not been made here, except as is seen in Appendix F, Section IV.

2.5.2. Peripheral Tagmeme Filler Classes

Matrix 9 shows the distribution of the filler classes in the Peripheral tagmemes described in Section 2.3. As with Matrix 8, the labels in the lefthand column are formulated in Appendix F. Examples will be found in Appendix H as indicated in the boxes.

MATRIX 9													
FILLER CLASSES OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH DECLARATIVE CLAUSES													
FILLER	CLASS	DIR	LOC	DUR	COND	MAN	COM	T	RESP	PURP	INSTR	C	END
S1a		(1) 2					(31a)		(44)				(56)
S1d									(45)		(52)		
S1g		3	8	18	24	25	32	36				55	
S2a		(4)	(9) 10	(19) 20		(26) 27	(33)	(37) 38	(46)	(50)	(53)		
S2b		(5)	(11)			(28)	(34)	(39)					
D1a		(6)											
D2			(13) 14				(35)		(47)				
S1/2/D2 + MOD			(15) 16	21		29		40	48		(54)		
inf cl										51			
rel cl		7	17					59	49				
dep cl				22	57			41				60	
Decl cl				23	58			43					
Interr						31							
adj phr						30		42					

Key to Matrix 9: (x) = preposition + Filler
 x = + Filler

NOTES

1. N.b. Law (1966:17). 'Clauses fill slots in sentences, other clauses and in phrases.'

2. Pike (1967:441): A clause 'typically has an overall structural meaning of predication or equation or query or command.'

Longacre (1964:20-21): A clause is 'a grammatical unit of predication ... One major difference between clause and sentence is the inclusion of an obligatory predicate for the clause but not for the sentence.'

Grimes (1964:45): A clause is 'a constitute with a verbal nucleus in construction with one or more other constituents, or a grammatical form which in its privileges of occurrence is equivalent to' the first definition.

Elson and Pickett (1960:24): 'A clause is any unit which upon analysis consists of or includes one and only one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme, and which frequently, but not always, fills slots on the sentence level.'

3. Longacre (1964:125): A sentence 'may consist of a single clause, of a patterned combination of clauses, or of a clause fragment ... It tends to be characterized by more closure and grammatical independence than the clause.'

Elson and Pickett (1960:27): '... we define sentence as a unit which usually contains intonational or junctural morphemes indicating closure, and which frequently, but not always, fills slots in larger structures (e.g., paragraphs).'

4. This follows Ruth Brend (1968:22-35). Also n.b. Ruth Crymes (1968:40): 'It is important to distinguish between strings described as strings-in-slots, that is, according to external distribution, and strings described as string-types, that is, according to internal constituency.'

5. In Pike (1967:270-272, 286-289, 490-492) can be found history of the development of the term.

6. Cook (1969:187):

The **tagmeme** is defined as the correlation of a grammatical function, or slot, with the list of mutually substitutable items that fill that slot (Elson and Pickett, 1962:57). It is a slot: class correlation. The grammatical function is represented by the slot symbol and refers to the grammatical meaning attached to a functional position in a frame. The filler class refers to all the morphemes and morpheme sequences that may be used to fill that slot in the construction frame. Both form and function are explicit in the concept of the tagmeme.

Slot, or function, refers to such notions as subject, predicate, object, and agent, which, in transformational grammar, are called grammatical relationships. Filler class refers to such notions as noun, noun phrase, verb, transitive clause, and so on, which in transformational grammar, are called grammatical categories (see Chomsky, 1965:64). In the complex notation of tagmemics, for example, S:N, function and form are never confused. Functional (relational) symbols are written to the left of the ratio mark (:); form (category) symbols are written to the right.

7. This study follows Longacre (1964:47-48) and Brend (1968:22) in considering a tagmeme to be nuclear if it is obligatory to the clause type in which it occurs or (if it optionally occurs) if it is still diagnostic of the clause type in which it occurs.

8. Labeled for convenience in matrix analysis. Obligatory tagmeme is indicated by +, and optional by \pm . In this section and elsewhere one label may symbolize both function and filler class. Longacre (1964:25) and Brend (1968:22) follow the same practice. N.b. Pike (1967:490-491): '... a detailed tagmemic formula usually symbolizes and always implies both the emic slot and the emic class at each point in the structure. Occasionally, however, a person may utilize the meaning of a slot as the source of an abbreviated symbol for the tagmeme as a whole; or one may use the symbol of the manifesting class as the symbol for the tagmeme as a whole ... the fillers are always indirectly implied.'

9. Criteria designated by Longacre (1964:47-49) in distinguishing clause types are the following:

(a) an obligatory difference in the ordering of similar elements, or a marked statistical preference for different ordering of such elements;

(b) a different internal structuring of sequences manifesting clause level (units), i.e., differences in the structure of words,

phrases, and subordinate clauses;

(c) a difference in emic classes manifesting two (units) (by definition an emic class is not set up here ad hoc but reflects a distinction useful at some other point in the grammar);

(d) a difference in the number of (units) in one type versus the other; presence of a given (unit) in one type versus its absence in the other;

(e) a regularly stateable grammatical transform. 'Two clause types are syntagmemically distinct if (a) there be at least two structural differences between them, and, (b) at least one of these differences involves the nuclear and/or obligatory' tagmemes.

10. Transitive Verbs are here defined as those that may take an object, and Intransitive Verbs, as those that never take an object (cf. Cook 1969:70).

11. Cf. Crowley-Peterson (1966:3). 'Passive Voice Auxiliary: *Be* (with its many allomorphs) occurs in SE ('Standard English') as a linking word between a modifying Verb, or Verbs, and the Verb Head. Neither a corresponding semantic reality, nor grammatical form have been observed in ID ('Island Dialect').'

12. Kenneth L. Pike has expressed a feeling 'that tagmemics and transformationalism should ultimately merge in the main stream of linguistics' (1967:497). Longacre's view in relation to generative grammar was as follows:

The various patterns and pattern points of a language are not a loose inventory available to the speaker but comprise a system. How may relations among patterns be shown? Generative grammar has brought forcibly and commendably to our attention the usefulness of grammatical transforms as one means of expressing relations between sentences. Grammatical matrix theory (not to be confused with matrix algebra) as being currently developed by Pike offers a way of showing relations between constructions in general (not merely between sentences) by conceptualizing them as charted together in various dimensions. The two ways of showing relations are not immiscible; both are incorporated to some degree in these procedures (1964:16).

Cook (in addition to *On Tagmemes and Transforms*, 1964) writes this (1969:42-43):

Tagmemic grammars formerly described all the sentences of a language by describing both kernel and derived sentences. The resulting description was a complete description, but often failed to show the relationships between similar sentences. With the introduction of transformational rules or matrix devices to show the relationships between sentences, it is still necessary to describe both kernel and derived sentences in order to discover the differences between structures. However, the final grammar may be considerably simplified by employing some type of transformational rule or matrix display, together with an analysis of only kernel sentences.

Pike (1967:487) mentions S. Belasco's article 'The Role of Transformational Grammar and Tagmemics in the Analysis of an Old French Text', *Lingua* 1961:10.375-90. Liem, Grimes, and Reid have incorporated transformations in their tagmemic descriptions.

I would consider this footnote incomplete without Grimes' statements in his Preface:

One way to lose friends is to stand by while a controversy is going on, then tell both sides blandly that one doesn't see the point of the fuss. This gives the controversialists opportunity to pause, wipe their foreheads, and tell one that he must be blind, or insensitive to the spirit of the times, or a coward. Then they go back to their fun.

To judge by some of the current debate in the field of linguistics concerning transformational theory, it would seem that a mortal issue had been joined. One does wonder, however, whether the field has really reached such a crisis. Certainly transformational theory had done service in making explicit one more feature of human language that used to lie partially neglected. Yet the arguments that insist that transformational theory forces linguistics to shift foundations fall short of being compelling. The discipline has been amplified and enriched, but not changed to something particularly different from what we are familiar with already, except for the mathematical trim on the new model. And so one wonders why all the fuss. This study of a Mexican Indian language views transformational theory in a calmer light than do some treatments pro and con. It should therefore contribute toward a more sober evaluation of that theory. Without acting as either apologist or polemicist, I have employed various available approaches to grammatical description as judiciously as possible, keeping clarity for the reader in mind as one goal. Here, then, transformational theory has been made to take its place on equal footing with other products offered in the marketplace.

This way of writing a grammar is far from simple eclecticism. There are myriad ways of describing any linguistic phenomenon, but some things in language are more amenable to one type of description than to another. Furthermore, a good description made from one point of view can always be converted into a good description made from another point of view. Now it is worth while to write a description from one single point of view but once or twice in the development of a particular linguistic theory: at the point where it is necessary to demonstrate that a language can be described using that theory. Once the demonstration is made, the theory goes into the linguist's toolbox. From then on, any linguist who is not at the moment trying to prove that his own theory works ought to feel obligated to his readers to choose the right tool for each part of his job rather than try to drive a nail with a saw blade. He should, in other words, search for ways of treating data that render the description of each kind of linguistic phenomenon clearest. When enough linguists do this, they can then identify those areas of language that are most easily describable by each available approach; this too is something worth knowing about language.

13. *Get* obviously does not qualify as 'Aux' in (T8), a characteristic that no doubt suggests the label 'pseudo-passive'. (See Section 2.2.4., Interrogative Clauses.)

14. See Appendix K for special comment on intonation of interrogatives in Keaukaha English.

15. Cook (1969:29; also 12, 17, 30, 39, 41, 43, 45, 56, examples 52-57, included). This practice is corroborated in the following:

Trager-Smith (1951:51): '... such tie-ups (segmental sequences with intonation patterns) are in the field of syntax, or even beyond ...'

D. Bolinger (1957:15): '... the relatively independent intonational and syntactic systems'; (*ibid.*:16): 'The fundamental independence of the intonational system ...'

Robert E. Longacre (1964:131, 135) quotes Pickett regarding Isthmus Zapotec and Waterhouse regarding Chontal of Oaxaca; in both instances, intonation patterns are separated from the sentence base at sentence level.

Joseph E. Grimes (1960:70): 'The clause is the intonationless skeleton of speech ... A sentence is a constitute the constituents of which are a final or eliciting intonation (... an eliciting intonation contour, one that ends on a level other than 1, when followed closely by utterances of other speakers - 32#, 2#, 3# - in that order of likelihood) on the one hand and a sentence base, a single clause or a constitute with two or more clauses as constituents, on the other.'

L.C. Thompson (1965:111): 'In immediate constituent analysis, intonations and stresses are isolated first, leaving the balance of the sentence.'

Howard W. Law (1962:21): 'Sentences occur with contrastive intonational features for each type ...'

N.D. Liem (1966:140-171) in all instances indicates that intonation is a feature at sentence level.

Ruth Brend (1968:29-30) observes however that a Mexican Spanish interrogative clause seemed to show a different intonation contour (which she does not specify) when embedded in a particular declarative clause (as a dependent structure at the sentence level) than it would as the sole filler at sentence level.

Keaukaha English evidence in this study parallels Ruth Brend's observation, but also indicates that question intonation contours are coterminous with, among other structures, such a sequence sentence as 'If they put it in cast, don't heal, no good, eh?' (with 2...21# intonation in Trager-Smith transcription, which apparently is one of the more usual interrogative contours in Keaukaha English, as stated in Appendix K).

16. The square brackets indicate here ordered and paired alternates (see Cook 1969:110 for comparable use). For use of solidus or slant line to represent alternate items, n.b. R.E. Longacre 1964:24 and

Cook *ibid.*:20. Ordering of the items so represented is also necessary here. Elsewhere, unless especially indicated, no ordering is implied by either device.

17. Locative, Manner, Time, Duration, and Cause are peripheral tag-memes, to be described in Section 2.3.

18. Again the situation appears complex and at variance with other reports of imperative intonation in English. Liem (1966:144) indicates falling intonation for English imperative; Cook, who specifies particular patterns for English questions, does not do so for commands (1969:52-53); Bolinger (1970:357) speaks of 'normal straight fall' as distinguishing commands.

My report on Keaukaha English commands at this time is that level terminal contours - on Trager-Smith pitches 1, 2, or 3 - seem to predominate, but that both falling and rising patterns also exist. Extreme tempo changes - accelerating and retarding - have also been observed, which call for later attention, and I would hope for future investigation of what seems like characteristic voice quality, suggestive of increased tenseness.

19. Dwight Bolinger draws attention to other imperatives - conditions, advice, wishes, hopes (1970:336 especially).

20. The Infinitive occurs infrequently with the optional markers *to* or *for* preceding it. It is formally defined in Keaukaha English by distribution in full or partial clause structure following a restricted class of Type A1 verbs (*forget, intend, learn, let, like, love, make, need, recommend, try, want, wish*). The form in this particular environment is invariant.

21. The following sequence could be taken as indication that the contracted subject is usual and is understood as subject:

Tape No. GXV(1) 261: 'What's gonna sing now? What us gonna sing now?' (The children would sometimes reconstruct their original expressions for my benefit.)

22. Edward Klima (1959:258-259); Katz-Postal (1964:74-79); J.P. Thorne (1966:69-78); Bolinger (1970:335-362).

23.. See Sections 2.2.2.; 2.2.3.; 2.2.5. regarding Imperative₂ Clause; 4.4.1a.; 4.4.1b.; 4.4.1g.; 5.2. regarding yes-no questions with declarative clause structure and special interrogative intonation,

and regarding use of the Passive.

A full scale study of frequency of the structures here described may be possible in the future.

24. Brend 1968; Liem 1966.

25. Immediately following the statement referred to in this paragraph Cook mentions that Merrifield et al. (*Laboratory Manual for Morphology and Syntax*, #165) describe the negative in Sierra Popoluca as an optional expansion of the clause level string.

26. Cook (1969:19):

In grammar, the etic unit is called the tagma, and these tagmas are grouped as allotagmas of essential units, called tagmemes. Thus, in a parallelism suggested by Elson and Pickett (1962:131): Tagmas (and allotagmas) are to tagmemes, what Morphs (and allomorphs) are to morphemes, and what Phones (and allophones) are to phonemes.

27. Cook (1969:92):

The phrase ... is extended to include "potential phrases," that is, single words with optional modifiers are listed as phrases. Thus, according to Pike (1967:439), a phrase is *+(+word+word)*, or *+(+word+word)*, but not *+(+word)*. A phrase is a unit which is composed of either two or more words, or is one word which is optionally expandable.

28. A relative clause (rel cl) is defined as an embedded Interrogative. In embedding, *that*, *-ever*, and *whether* are possible along with the 'Q' forms given in Section 4.5.1.

29. A complement (compl) is defined as *that* + Declarative nucleus.

30. A dependent clause (dep cl) is defined as a Declarative, Passive, or Expletive clause preceded by *after*, *as*, *as soon as*, *because*, *before*, *if*, *in case*, *in order*, *otherwise*, *since*, *so*, *so that*, *then* ('therefore'), *till*, *unless*, *until*, *whenever*, *whereas*, *while*.

CHAPTER THREE

CLAUSE CLASSES IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH (Distribution Mode)

3.1. GENERAL DISCUSSION

In the 'total tagmemic theoretical view, ... function in the slot of a higher structure (i.e., external distribution) is always immediately relevant to the nature of a unit' (Pike 1967:451). It is through its external distribution that a tagmeme or syntagmeme is integrated with the rest of the system of grammar (*ibid.*:236).

Pike emphasizes that an important point regarding distribution is that tagmemes are 'in every instance' distributed into an immediately higher level structural type, and that that type may be distributed in turn into a larger slot (*ibid.*:450). This means that the phrase level tagmemes made up, for example, of the slots plus the filler classes in Matrix 8 and Matrix 9, are distributed into the clause types presented in Section 2.2. Then those clause types in turn are distributed into slots at sentence level. Section 3.2. describes some aspects of the external distribution of Keaukaha English clause types - places the clause types identified in Chapter Two occur in the stream of speech as it involves the sentence.

The usual hierarchical mapping of grammatical units displays a regular ascending arrangement, from levels of morpheme through word, phrase, and clause to the sentence. However, because of the linguistic fact that clause syntagmeme types do occur as manifestations of clause level tagmemes embedded within the clause (n.b. Matrices 8 and 9), another component of the distribution mode of a unit must be its distribution at its own level (Pike 1967:318). This phenomenon is referred to in the literature as layering, nesting (Cook 1969:31), and recursion (Longacre 1968:I, xvi-xix). Section 3.3. describes the layering of Keaukaha English clause types.

In Section 3.4. it will also be evident that clause types occur as prepositional, adjectival, and nominal phrase level tagmemes. This atypical mapping is known as backlooping (Cook 1969:31; Longacre 1964:xix). Longacre and Cook have pointed out that the description of both typical and atypical mapping of the grammatical field structure is one of the fundamental contributions of tagmemic presentations (Longacre 1965:76; Cook 1969:31). In the present case the inclusion of such description reveals that considerable internal layering at clause level of different clause types, including the declarative, occurs in Keaukaha English.

3.2. EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION IN SENTENCES

We will consider here the distribution in sentences of the clause types identified in the preceding chapter, to the extent that sentences have been studied in this research. Certain clause classes will be established on the basis of such distribution. Longacre's 'The Notion of Sentence' (1967:15-24) suggested the treatment given here.

In Matrix 10, clause types are listed in three environments - preceding the concatenation (conjunction) marker only, preceding and following the marker, and following the marker only. The numbers in parentheses with each clause type refer to the example numbers given in Appendix J.

As Pike has written, one kind of distribution class is 'constituted of a number of tagmemes which have in common the potential for occurring in an analogous included slot ... but which differ both in the formal structure of their manifesting classes and in the structural function or structural meaning of those tagmemes.' Another kind of distribution class is 'composed of two or more tagmemes which have in common a constellation of one or more distributional components' (Pike 1967:246). The first kind of distribution class (by occurrence in a distinctive slot) is established in Matrix 10

- (a) for the Declarative (occurring in an environment contrasting with all other types) in its distribution with *but*;
- (b) for the Imperative with *so that*; and
- (c) for the Passive with *and* and with *whereas*.

MATRIX 10			
DISTRIBUTION OF CLAUSE TYPES IN CONCATENATION SENTENCES			
MARKER	Preceding the Marker	CLAUSE TYPES Preceding and Following the Marker	Following the Marker
<i>and</i>	Passive (21)	Declarative (1) Imperative (14) Expletive (9, 16) Interrogative (26)	
<i>or</i>		Declarative (11) Interrogative (22)	
<i>otherwise</i>		Declarative (10)	
<i>but</i>		Declarative (3)	Imperative (6) Expletive (12) Passive (19) Interrogative (8)
<i>so</i>	Imperative (18) Expletive (24)	Declarative (4)	
<i>if</i>		Declarative (2, 13)	
<i>because</i>		Declarative (5, 7) Passive (23, 25)	
<i>so that</i>	Imperative (20)	Declarative (15)	
<i>then</i>		Declarative (2)	
<i>whereas</i>	Declarative (17)		Passive (17)

In Matrix 11, Keaukaha English clause types are listed in the left-hand column, and their distribution in sentence types is given in the cells. A minus symbol (-) records occurrence in the slot before the concatenation marker (conjunction) at the top of the column, and a plus (+) records occurrence in the slot after that marker, in concatenation sentences.

MATRIX 11					
DISTRIBUTION OF CLAUSE TYPES IN CONCATENATION SENTENCE TYPES					
CLAUSE TYPE	Coordinate (<i>and</i>)	Alternative (<i>or</i>)	SENTENCE TYPE Antithetical (<i>but</i>)	Sequence (<i>so</i>)	Conditional (<i>because</i>)
Decl	- +	- +	- +	- +	- +
Imper	- +		+	-	
Expl	- +		+	-	
Pass	-		+		- +
Interr	- +	- +	+		

Matrix 11 gives criteria for the second kind of distribution class referred to by Pike. Interpretation of his statement is that each constellation of distributional possibilities signals a separate class. Therefore it appears that each of the clause types presented in Chapter Two is also established as a distinct clause on the basis of external distribution in sentence types.

3.3. INTERNAL LAYERING AT CLAUSE LEVEL

The review of filler classes in declarative clauses given in Matrix 8 (Section 2.5.1.) and in Matrix 9 (Section 2.5.2.) shows that clauses occur as clause level tagmemes. Matrix 12 gives a full resume of the occurrence of clause types in nuclear and peripheral tagmemes. Numbered examples of embedding in nuclear tagmemes are to be found in Appendix G, and the numbered examples of peripheral tagmemes (given here in parentheses) are in Appendix H.

MATRIX 12					
INTERNAL LAYERING OF CLAUSE TYPES IN NUCLEAR AND PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES					
TAGMEMIC SLOT OF EMBEDDING	Decl (including inf, compl, dep cl)	EMBEDDED CLAUSE TYPE Pass (including dep cl)	Interr (including rel cl)	Imper	Expl
A3 subj appositive	96				
A3 subj			35		
B topic	58, 59		57		
A1 obj	76, 77, 78, 79		75	61	129
A1a obj	91, 92, 93, 94	128	90, 127		
A3 equ	113, 114, 115, 119		112		
B comment	123a, 124				
DIR			(7)		
LOC			(17)		
DUR	(22), (23)				
COND	(57), (58)				
MAN			(31)		
T	(43), (59)	(41)			
RESP			(49)		
PURP	(51)				
C	(60)				

According to this distribution, one clause class consists of Declarative, Passive, and Interrogative types (distributed in both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes), contrasting with the class consisting of the Imperative and Expletive types (distributed in nuclear tagmemes only). The first class is subclassified by the occurrence of Declarative and Interrogative in Type A and in Type B clauses, distinguished from the Passive, which occurs in Type A only.

A general observation can now be made in connection with Longacre's statement that he considered nesting of sentence type within sentence type to be 'a basic characteristic of the sentence level in many languages' (1967:23). The information summarized in this section regarding Keaukaha English is evidence that in this system nesting is a characteristic also at the clause level.

The occurrence of declarative clauses at this level, as indicated in Matrices 8 and 9, is also a distinguishing characteristic of Keaukaha English. Longacre's report is that, normally, independent clauses do not occur embedded in clauses or phrases (1968:I, xiii). It will be seen in the next section that Keaukaha English phrases accord with this generalization to the same extent, probably, as other English dialects. But 'independent clauses' may also be embedded at the clause level in Keaukaha English.

3.4. INTERNAL BACKLOOPING IN PHRASE LEVEL

Another general classification of clause types emerges on the basis of distribution as phrase level tagmemes, i.e., 'backlooping'. Declarative, Interrogative, and Passive types constitute the occurring class, and Imperative and Expletive, the non-occurring class.

The following are examples of relative clauses as object of preposition.

- (a) *Everything just like how we eating.*
- (b) *She been there from when she graduated in high school in 1962.*
- (c) *... something about where they would like to introduce this new type of language.*

Infinitive clause and complement occur as adjective modifier.

- (d) *... able to help you.*
- (e) *... glad that my husband is from there.*

The following declarative and relative clauses are modifiers in an indefinite pronoun phrase (S1b₂ MOD).

- (f) *Anything else you wish to ask them ...*
- (g) *I gotta make something else what I like.*

And the following are illustrative of determiner noun phrase modifier (S2a MOD), with complement, declarative, relative, and infinitive clauses.

- (h) ... to give impression that you first meet.
- (i) ... kind of salad you want ...
- (j) ... a board that is made out of a special kind of wood.
- (k) ... the best time to get to the nose ...

These examples confirm Cook's statement that clauses in English are embedded at phrase level as modifiers and as objects of prepositions (Cook 1969:44, 75-76). They also are in line with Longacre's observation that backlooping is usually specially marked in some way (Longacre 1968:I, xvii-xviii). Examples (f) and (i), without marking, exhibit one of the possible manifestations of deleted object in relative clauses, which is a possibility shared among English dialects.

It will remain for later research to confirm each of the classes indicated in this chapter. At this point there are two rather firm observations that can be made. First, criteria of external distribution give additional substantiation to the designating of Declarative, Passive, Expletive, Interrogative, and Imperative as separate clause types, which were initially posited on the basis of internal structure. Second, it seems that Declarative, Passive, and Interrogative clauses constitute a fairly stable distribution class in contradistinction to another, made up of Expletive and Imperative, both on the basis of internal layering and on the basis of internal backlooping, as explained in detail above.

CHAPTER FOUR

VARIANTS AND FILLERS OF CLAUSE TYPES IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH (Manifestation Mode)

4.1. GENERAL DISCUSSION

It may be well to emphasize that 'the sum of the physical components of the feature mode ... will be seen to cover the same data as the sum of the components of all the variants of the manifestation mode' (Pike 1967:162). Beyond the statement quoted at the beginning in Section 2.1. (from Pike 1967:85) on the subject, the following provide explanation in a little more detail.

Within this theory there are no emic units without a physical manifestation (306; also 220-221).

The basic elements of the manifestation mode are the separate repetitions, or different occurrences, of that same morpheme. The sum of the occurrences of a morpheme makes up the total manifestation mode of that morpheme (163).

The manifestation mode of an emic class ... includes, as components, all of the nonsimultaneous variants of such an emic class (389).

Thus the manifestation mode of a unit is concerned with all the varieties of that unit as they occur to manifest it. We proceed now to the description of clause variation and the fillers of clause types, which with the Appendices provide the prescribed components of the manifestation mode.

Variation of clauses comes partially through the addition of peripheral tagmemes as described in Section 2.3. Other kinds of variation include expansion of clauses by the addition of appositives, and by various kinds of permutation.

4.2. CLAUSE VARIATION THROUGH EXPANSION BY APPOSITIVES (NUCLEAR AND PERIPHERAL)

Appositives may be added to both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes in clauses. In some cases the second member of the pair of tagmemes in apposition specifies more definiteness¹ or emphasis² than the first,

but more generally both members seem semantically as well as tagmemically equivalent. Matrix 13 shows the scattered distribution of types that have been observed. Eleven types of occurrences have been recorded for individuals under twelve years of age, and nineteen types of occurrences for teenagers and adults. The types in common are Subject in Types A2 and A3, Object in Type Ala, Equation in Type A3, and LOC in Types A1 and A2. Examples corresponding to the numbers appear in Appendix C.

<p style="text-align: center;">MATRIX 13</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DISTRIBUTION OF TAGMEME APPositIVES</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(contrasting children and adults)</p>								
TAGMEME APPOSITIVES	CLAUSE TYPES							
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B	Pass A1	Pass Ala	Expl ₁
Subject	1	16	3 13	6 15		2		
Topic					17			
V Phr			18a					
Object	19	20 47					23	
Equ				28 30				
Expl Subj								34
DIR	48							
LOC	49 39		36 50	51	52			
DUR			40					
MAN		42						
T	43		53 54			55		
RESP	46							

With expansion by appositives, it will be seen (Table Va and Table Vb, Section 5.3.) that types of adult usage substantially outnumber those of children.

4.3. CLAUSE VARIATION BY PERMUTATION THROUGH DISCONTINUOUS APPOSITIVES (NUCLEAR AND PERIPHERAL)

Permutation in position of one of a pair of appositives results in further variants in clause structure. As is evident in examples in Appendix D, any intervening speech between apparent appositives (including hesitation forms and non-clause nuclear tagmemes on various levels) is here taken to define this phenomenon. It does not occur in as many clause types as the appositives in the preceding section. But as the following matrix (Matrix 14) shows, the discontinuous

appositive is also a possibility with nuclear and with peripheral tagmemes, and is highly variable as to position. For instance, the discontinuous appositive of both subject and object may occur in either initial or final position in a clause. This study reveals twenty-two types used by children, and twenty by adults. Types in common are (1) A1 Object in final position preceded by some interlocution like *you know* or *see* or *you see*, (2) A2 Subject in final position, (3) A3 Subject initial, but separated from the full clause by non-nuclear tagmemes, and (4) A3 Subject in final position.

Examples corresponding to the numbered items in Matrix 14 are to be found in Appendix D.

Examples Nos. 5, 16, and 19 show that two or more discontinuous appositives may appear in a given position. Example No. 3 (along with No. 41) contains two types of discontinuous appositive in the same sentence, with portmanteau tagmemic representation in the one constituent *the students*.³

MATRIX 14						
DISTRIBUTION TYPES OF TAGMEMES AS DISCONTINUOUS APPositIVES (by environment and clause type)						
ENVIRONMENT	CLAUSE TYPES					
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B	Pass Ala
# _____	25)Obj			42)Equ		
# _____ +				12)Subj 13)Subj	22)Top	
# _____ x			6)Subj			
# _____ y	1)Subj			14)Subj		
# _____ z			7)Subj			
# _____ x+	2)Subj					
# _____ yx				15)Subj		
# _____ cl sub j	44)Inf Obj					
#+ _____	29)Obj					
#y _____	30)Obj					
#+ _____ z						41)Ditr
#dx _____	31)Obj					
#dy _____	32)Obj					
#x+ _____ x	33)Obj					
+ _____ +	3)Subj 34)Obj					
+ _____ x	4)Subj					

MATRIX 14 (continued)						
ENVIRONMENT	CLAUSE TYPES					
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B	Pass Ala
Subj_____x		50)COND				
Inf subj						
_____Inf	45)Inf Obj					
_____#		39)Ditr 24)V 38)Obj	8)Subj 10)Subj	16)Subj 18)Subj 52)RESP		
+_____#	35)Obj 46)LOC	51)T 47)LOC			43)Comm	
x_____#	5)Subj 36)Obj 37)Obj	49)LOC	11)Subj			
z_____#		40)Ditr				

Key to Matrix 14: + = non-nuclear clause tagmeme
 x = *you know, (you) see*
 y = *oh, uh, um, why, etc.*
 z = extra clause structure
 d = discontinuous appositive
 Unmarked environment = relevant clause nucleus

This matrix and Tables Va and Vb (Section 5.3.) present the fact that with discontinuous appositives children's types are more numerous than adults', and items in both of the sets distinctive to the two groups far outnumber those items which are used in common by all ages. This is interesting in view of DeCamp's statement (1968: 27) that 'a creole, like a pidgin, tends to minimize redundancy in syntax'.

4.4. CLAUSE VARIATION BY PERMUTATION OF NUCLEAR TAGMEMES

4.4.1a. OSV Permutation in Type A1

The appearance of Object in initial position is one of the interesting occurrences in the following discontinuous appositives:

- No. 25 *Moray eel you can spear it ...*
 26 *And this I just put it on*
 27 *All this, this, this and that two poodle my brother*
 John made it
 28 *Rabbit you better not take my rabbit*
 29 *... so the blood I won't lose any blood*
 30 *Oh, the moon I forgot the moon*
 31 *... this guy you know the light, headlight he showed*
 it too bright

32 *My mother um four she had four*

All of the following differ from the above only in the presence of a single initial Object (underlined) rather than the two equivalent tag-memes in a clause.

- OSV # 1 *Gloria, this one I already passed*
 2 *Eleven we do*
 3 *Oh, 'Jesus Loves Me' I don't know*
 4 *Spanish I think I know a little*
 5 *Hawaiian I don't even know*
 6 *In school you know some subject I guess I know*
 7 *But some of the words we know because ...*
 8 *Between those three boy they gonna stick five dollars I hope*
 9 *With that they can buy two case coke I hope*

The examples of discontinuous appositive Objects in initial slot are exclusively children's, but only the first three of the above nine with the single initial Object were said by children.

4.4.1b. VOS Permutation in Type A1

Another possibility of permutation seems also prefigured in the discontinuous appositives, that is, of Subject in final position.⁴ However, only a single example of the nuclear Type A1 clause structure, by an eleven-year-old boy, appears on the material of this study.

- VOS # 1 *Will make smell your cards*

4.4.1c. OSV(Ditr) Permutation in Type Ala

It should be noted that discontinuous appositive No. 40 is a Type Ala example similar to the permuted form in Section 4.4.1a.

- OSV # 10 *Anything else you wish to ask them you should ask now*

The optional Ditransitive Object at this level seems subject to deletion when identical with the embedded phrase level tagmeme *them*.

4.4.1d. SVOD Permutation in Type Ala

Discontinuous appositive Nos. 38 and 39 exhibit the metathesis of Ditransitive Object and Object that is also found in the following. The first is from a child's speech, and the others from adults'.

- SVOD # 1 *(Your mother) give it/to you*
 2 *... they owe their life/to the bank*
 3 *... the teacher gives it/to us*
 4 *... me asking permission/from you ...*

4.4.1e. VS Permutation in Type A2

Note 4 mentions the fact that discontinuous appositives Nos. 8-11 contain one of the appositive Type A2 transposed subjects. Examples of permutation without the discontinuous appositive are as follows (exclusively children's).

- VS # 1 ... come/this out the water
 2 ... then come/her
 3 Here come/another one
 4 Here come/my mother
 5 It's too big for go/it under bridge.

4.4.1f. EquVS Permutation in Type A3

Discontinuous appositive Nos. 16-21c include the sequence Equation-Verb-Subject, which is found in the following Type A3 permutations.

- EquVS # 1 Here's the cards
 2 There is goose
 3 Here are the people here, right here, outside here
 4 Over here is the melting pot

Numbers 1 and 2 are children's, and 3 and 4 adults'.

4.4.1g. VSEqu Permutation in Type A3

A permutation not apparently related to discontinuous appositives is the following single expression, spoken by an adult.

- VSEqu # 1 Is only Hawaiian there

4.4.1h. Comment-Topic Permutation in Type B

Metathesis of the two nuclear tagmemes of Type B is the only possible permutation of this type, of course. Reference to Matrix 8 will confirm the fact that this transposition was not foreshadowed in the discontinuous appositives. Items 1 through 10 in the following are children's speech, and the remainder, adults'.

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| CT # 1 | <i>Favorite story</i> | <i>this</i> |
| 2 | <i>Here</i> | <i>the sun</i> |
| 3 | <i>Here</i> | <i>the earth</i> |
| 4 | <i>Here</i> | <i>the moon</i> |
| 5 | <i>Here</i> | <i>the ugly moon</i> |
| 6 | <i>Wham! Down</i> | <i>he!</i> |
| 7 | <i>Maybe not good</i> | <i>speak of the kind rocks</i> |
| 8 | <i>Here</i> | <i>a rabbit</i> |
| 9 | <i>There, here</i> | <i>two</i> |

CT # 10	<i>There</i>	<i>two rabbits</i>
11	<i>Better for you</i>	<i>to lie down</i>
12	<i>There</i>	<i>the people</i>
13	<i>Right on this portion in here</i>	<i>the Niihau</i>
14	<i>Nice</i>	<i>that one</i>

4.4.2. Summary

A comparison of the permuted constructions presented in this section with constructions containing discontinuous appositives is given in Matrix 15.

MATRIX 15					
COMPARISON OF STRUCTURES IN PERMUTED CLAUSE TYPES AND RELATED DISCONTINUOUS APPOSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS					
PERMUTATIONS	CLAUSE TYPES				
	A1	Ala	A2	A3	B
V(O)S	da perm		da da perm		
EquVS				da da perm perm	
CT					perm perm
VSEqu				perm	
OSV(d)	da perm perm		perm		
OD		da da perm perm			

Key to Matrix 15: da = discontinuous appositive
perm = permutation of nuclear tagmemes without 'da'

Children's speech includes five sets of similar constructions in both discontinuous appositives and permutations.

V(O)S in Type A1 and Type A2
EquVS in Type A3
OSV(D) in Type A1
OD in Type Ala

Adults' speech includes two such sets.

EquVS in Type A3
OD in Type Ala

From among the unpaired types, adults use one type - V(O)S in Type A2. They use four types of permutations not matched with discon-

tinuous appositives.

Comment Topic in Type B
VSEqu in Type A3
OSV(D) in Type A1

Children use only one of the latter type.

Comment Topic in Type B

4.5. CLAUSE VARIATION BY SPECIFIC FILLERS

4.5.1. Nuclear Fillers

4.5.1a. Non-Verbal Nuclear Fillers

Interrogative Tag: *eh, no, yeah, right, okay*

QSubject: *who*

QObject: *who, what, which*

QEquation: *who, what*

QComment: *who, what*

QAttr: *what, how*

QLOC: *where*

QDUR: *how long*

QMAN: *how*

QT: *what time*

QC: *how, how come, how about*

QBEN: *#who ... for#*

4.5.1b. Verbal Fillers of Nuclear Tagmemes

Type A1 Verb Phrase = + Aux⁵ + Transitive Verb

e.g., *aim, believe, catch, do, earn, find, grab, help, imagine, join, know, learn, make, need, put, read, say, think, understand, vamp, wear, yarn ...*

Type A1a Verb Phrase = + Aux⁵ + Transitive Verb

e.g., *allow, ask, assign, bid, bring, give, let (lent), owe, present, recommend, serve, show, supply, teach, tell ...*

Type A1b Verb Phrase = + Transitive Verb

e.g., *call₂*

Type A2 Verb Phrase = + Aux⁵ + Intransitive Verb

e.g., *argue, bleed, change, come, dance, enter, fall, go, hike, jump, kick, land, migrate, paddle, rest, sink, turn, wait ...*

Type A3 Verb Phrase = + Aux⁵ + Equational Verb

e.g., *be, become, look, mean, stay, seem, sound, taste, turn into, match with ...*

Passive Auxiliary: *be, get*

Auxiliary: *can, may, will, have, went, is, are*

Imper₂ Verb: *let*

Imper₂ Predicate: *Infinitive clause*

4.6. SUMMARY

In Section 2.1. an allusion was made to the fact that linear treatment using the three modes was a less than possible ideal. The impossibility of analyzing strictly within one mode at a time to the exclusion of the others is especially obvious with the manifestation mode. It has been impossible and undesirable to confine treatment of clause variation and specific fillers to this one chapter, of course. This comment therefore is made with the intention of acknowledging without apology that elements of the manifestation mode have been included elsewhere in this work, in Chapters Two and Three, and in appendices. However, this practice seems entirely consonant with Pike's general words as to the human observer who is the analyst. One-dimensional rules are not his wish. Rather, it is for consciousness of the 'right of multiple perspective' (1967:10) in the presence of data having 'complex overlapping components' (*ibid.*:84). In the essentials, as far as has been possible, then, this study has maintained a three-fold perspective.

N O T E S

1. E.g. Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 31, 34, 36, 39, 41 in Appendix C.
2. E.g. No. 28 in Appendix C.
3. For Pike's statement regarding portmanteau possibilities, see 1967:440, also, 243, 317, 382, 385, 441-443, 449, 452, 455, 459, 483, 550, 553, 557, 559, 576, 585.
4. N.b. Appendix D, No. 5 (Type A1), Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 (Type A2), and Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21a, 21b, 21c (Type A3).
5. Appendix F, Section IV.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding three chapters may serve, as a beginning, one of the purposes adumbrated in Section 1.3. They may serve some speakers of Hawaii English with evidence of the existence of extensive and elaborate system in the language which they speak. This chapter will be concerned, in Section 5.2., with the second general humanistic purpose stated in Section 1.3. (that is, possibly contributing to 'a clearer and respectful understanding of Hawaii English' across dialects). In both Sections 5.2. and 5.3., linguistic questions and projects for the future are the subject.

5.2. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF KEAUKAHA ENGLISH

The historical development of Hawaii English contrasts with almost all mainland American English dialects in having numerous and widespread non-Indo-European as well as diverse Indo-European language contacts. Also, of course, the time span of Hawaii English coincides with that of dialects in much of Western America, but it is only a fraction of that of British English dialects.

In Keaukaha English there are several features which speakers of some other dialects may either not use at all or not be conscious of using themselves. Eight such features noted in this study are the following.

- (1) Nominal predications - Type B clause
(pages 27-28)
- (2) Optional subject
(page 27)
- (3) Optional object
(page 28)

- (4) Frequent appositives, and discontinuous appositives related to permutations
(Sections 4.2. and 4.3.)
- (5) Double nominal phrase
(Appendix F, Section II)
- (6) Reverse nominal phrase
(Appendix F, Section II)
- (7) Peripheral fillers without, as well as with, prepositions
(page 55)
- (8) Distinctive interrogative intonation
(Chapter Two, note 14; Appendix K)

As one considers this list, a statement made in Chapter One (page 4) can be enlarged upon. In connection with Reinecke's and Tokimasa's work, it was said that problems they were occupied with are 'still to be considered thirty-five years later.' One of these problems, still far from solved (if solvable at all), is the provenience of the set of language systems in Hawaii. Reinecke-Tokimasa wrote, 'The exact contribution of each of the languages spoken in Hawaii to the structure of pidgin has yet to be determined' (1934:50). Section 1.1. of this work suggests an extremely complex language situation in Hawaii, with English as spoken by different groups with different language backgrounds being only one part of the linguistic picture, set in the milieu of all of the other languages, all with possible mutual influences.

Robert A. Hall's discussion of nominal predications - similar to Item (1) above - first mentions that in Russian and Hungarian these are grammatical possibilities. But he ascribes such structures in pidgins to intentional simplification (1966:84-86). In the case of English in Hawaii, however, it is a fact that besides Russian (which was one of the languages used in the last century here), the grammar of both Hawaiian and Chinese includes this same kind of predication.¹ So it seems difficult to say that the progenitor of this structure is definitely the result of pidginization. Moreover, it seems worth pointing out, especially for students who concentrate on only one page (86) in Hall, that this structure is even more widespread throughout the world. According to Thompson (1965:208, 332) it is a feature of Vietnamese. Robins, in a lecture during his stay in Honolulu in 1967-68, made it clear that Sundanese has verbal and nominal predications; and in writing (1964:234) he adds Latin and Yurok to Russian and Hungarian. Jespersen had earlier (1924:121) reported that some languages which have a copula 'do not use it as extensively as e.g. English.' He lists Old Greek, Russian, Danish, and French, and quotes examples of copulaless expressions from Ruskin, H. Walpole, and

Shelley. A close reading of Hall also lets one realize that he acknowledged that 'such constructions are less infrequent, even in standard English, than we are sometimes inclined to think' (1966:85), when he notes an advertisement in Australia in 1954 with the question 'You a woman?' Bolinger also had noted that this structure exists in questions in American English (1957:65; see also 1970:355).

Item (2) above is a second example of the same sort. Nagara definitely attributes optional subjects in the 'Pidgin English of Japanese in Hawaii' to Japanese. 'In PEJH ... the subject tagmemes are optional units in the clause level syntagmemes. This is because the subject is an optional unit on the clause level syntagmeme in Japanese' (1969:164; cf. Hall 1966:83). The language that Nagara's informants were using certainly might have been partially influenced, besides Japanese, by the language they heard after arriving in Hawaii. That system includes in its contacts more than one different possible source of an optional subject. First, it is reported that in Hawaiian subject pronouns are commonly omitted unless there is ambiguity (Pukui-Elbert 1965:xx). In the last hundred years Spanish and German have been used here along with the other languages, and in them there are sentences without subjects (Brend 1968:23; Kufner 1962:1, 6, 12). And again Bolinger has reported four different question structures without subjects in current American English.²

With Item (3) above, the situation is similar, but in a lesser degree. According to Nagara (1969:165) the object is optional in Japanese. Also, according to Brend (1968:18-19) it is optional in Mexican Spanish.

With these three items and with others also, possible relationship with 'a predominantly Portuguese version of Sabir (or a Portuguese relexification of it)' (DeCamp 1968:33) remains a question for research, as was indicated in Section 1.3.

Beyond its intrinsic interest, Item (4) is noteworthy because a Mainland speaker aware of this set of variations will avoid misinterpretation of an expression like 'Cheat now, no cheatin!'. This is not a contradiction, but merely a discontinuous appositive, and the following is a single imperative: 'Try again, let me try again!'. As a matter of fact, perhaps when more data are in from many other studies it may be found that discontinuous appositives are regularly used by a good many of us. I heard myself telling how to put waffle batter in the iron in this way: 'In the middle, you put one spoon in the middle.'

The fact that double nominal phrase - Item (5) - and reverse nominal - Item (6) - embrace extensions of English usage elsewhere than in Hawaii is seen in the examples in Appendix FII (Dla and Dlx). Item

(7) is similar. Other English dialects have locative and time indicated without prepositions:

I went home.

I went yesterday.

Keaukaha English enlarges the inventory of fillers of similar structures:

I went Molokai.

I went four o'clock.

The opinion has been developed as the present work progressed that speakers of Mainland dialects might benefit by a brief sketch of even a few characteristics such as the preceding. The complete work including the appendices would serve more fully of course, and a full grammar even more. No matter how short the list, I believe that Item (8) calls for inclusion. It refers to the phenomenon noted in Matrix 3 and in Appendix K. Keaukaha English shares with Hawaii English a distinctive set of interrogative intonation patterns, little intimation of which seems generally to exist. Anticipation of the pattern described in the last paragraph of Appendix K could obviate lack of comprehension on the part of a Mainland speaker. The pattern varies naturally according to the length of the utterance, the final contour consisting of a move from a very high pitch to a low. It is used with all interrogative structures and, in addition, with what is labeled 'QConf Sent INTON' in Matrix 3. This is the ordinary yes-no question posed in a declarative syntactic pattern. In Hawaii English it seems to occur with a very high frequency. Bolinger, speaking of American English (1957:11), guessed that 'possibly half of the total of yes-no Qs are syntactically and morphemically unmarked.' An approximation of the frequency of the interrogative intonation just described in Keaukaha English questions is much higher, totaling approximately 75 per cent of the total. Therefore this characteristic figures fairly large in communication across dialects. Here again though the characteristic is not unique to Hawaii English. During the 1969-70 ETV season I heard two questions I would describe as follows (in the Trager-Smith system).

²Do you ³want ⁴to ¹see it?¹

²Do you want ³to wear it ⁴tom¹orrow?¹

These were in the contemporary British production of the *Forsythe Saga*. Consequently, it remains an open question at present as to relatedness and distinctiveness of this aspect too.

This study also reveals another kind of feature, namely, the passive voice, which others have said is not used by *kamaaina* speakers of Hawaii English (see Chapter Two, note 11). Both children and adults

in Keaukaha use the passive voice. The children's examples make up about one-third of those observed and counted in a limited portion of the data.

5.3. LINGUISTIC QUESTIONS AND FUTURE PROJECTS

It is anticipated that this analysis will be but one in a comprehensive series of descriptions of contemporary Hawaii English, entailing lifetimes of study on the part of many students. To this study of clause structure in Keaukaha English should be added others on the same subject. If 'living speech' is the object of knowledge, kamaaina researchers should investigate Hawaii English equally as seriously as non-native researchers, and among the aspects covered should be those not dealt with here, namely deletion and conjunction in clause structure. All levels of syntax besides the clause should be given attention, as well as the other components of a grammar, that is, phonology and lexicon. For a more thorough study of the English of Keaukaha and of all other communities of predominantly Hawaiian background, someone versed in the Hawaiian language will be a necessity, or at least a full syntactic treatment of Hawaiian (which to date has been lacking). Similar treatment needs to be given to each language group on the scene in the past century and a half if the term Hawaii English is to be used with a fair amount of reliability.

Some such project, duplicated in many of the communities throughout the fifty states, would bring into view a sufficient body of information so that we could speak with some understanding of 'creole' and 'dialect' in America, whereas at the present moment it seems premature to attempt to generalize in a comparative way regarding Keaukaha English or Hawaii English and other varieties. As Roger W. Shuy states in the introduction to the Urban Language Series (Shuy-Wolfram-Riley 1968:v), 'historically, linguists have formulated theory from individual rather than group performance. They have had to generalize about what constitutes "standard" or "non-standard" from intuitive judgements or from very limited data.' The series of which *Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study* is a recent publication has so far presented investigation in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Detroit.

It is staggering to think about the feasibility of nationwide coverage. One of the greatest single problems is to find 'the most efficient methods of language data gathering in an urban area' (Shuy-Wolfram-Riley 1968:2). Where would teams of linguists similar to the Detroit team (1968:24-25) come from? A possibility that I have been entertaining and envisioning looks to reliance not exclusively on teams of linguists. I would propose a full scale cooperative program

for dialect research carried on by teachers who have had an introduction to linguistic investigation, by all those who would care to become likewise informed, and by teams of linguists who would be jointly responsible for the work to be done. I feel quite confident, from pioneer attempts with separate sections of future teachers in an introductory linguistic course, that such possibilities exist. If computer analysis is included, I foresee the availability of an accurate picture of wide coverage at some given future point in time.

As to the linguistic situation in Hawaii, it is now possible to make a limited comparison of the English spoken on the Island of Hawaii by some native speakers of Japanese and by some members of the Keaukaha community. Susumu Nagara's study of the 'Pidgin English' of native speakers of Japanese in Hawaii was referred to on page 6. In Matrix 16, which follows, all nuclear clause structures described and exemplified in that study are superimposed upon Matrix 3 from Chapter Two, Section 2.2.6. The symbol x indicates Keaukaha English, and y PEJH usage.

MATRIX 16								
COMPARISON OF NUCLEAR CLAUSE STRUCTURES: KEAUKAHA ENGLISH AND 'PIDGIN ENGLISH OF JAPANESE IN HAWAII' (PEJH)								
DECLARATIVE	INTERROGATIVE							IMPER- ATIVE
	QConf Sent INTON	Conf ₁ Cl #Aux	Conf ₂ Cl eh#	Info _{1a} Cl WH subj	Info _{1b} Cl WH subj	Info _{1c} Cl WH equ	Info ₂ Cl WH+Aux	
A1 x y	x	x	x y	x	x		x	x
A1a x		x						x
A1b x					x		x	
A2 x y	x y	x	x	x	x		x	x
A3 x y	x	x	x		x	x		x
B x y	x		x		x			
Pass A1		x						
Pass A1a ₁								
Pass A1a ₂								
Pass A1b								
Expl ₁						x		
Expl ₂								
Expl ₃								

Nagara's study was partially characterized (6) as presenting twenty clause level syntagmemes (Nagara 1969:163-180). These include nine declarative, five negative, two direction, two interrogative, and two

conditional clause formulas. The above matrix records only the declarative and interrogative inasmuch as the other types are not nuclear, and Matrix 3 included only nuclear clause types.

Nagara's nine declarative formulas are interpreted in the following way.

- | Nagara | Glissmeyer |
|--|------------|
| (1) Intransitive Clause
$\underline{+}$ Adv $\underline{+}$ Subj + Pred ^{V1} + Into#
<i>All church go</i>
<i>'Everybody went to church'</i> | Type A2 |
| (2) Transitive Clause ₁
$\underline{+}$ Adv $\underline{+}$ Subj $\underline{+}$ obj + Into#
<i>This boss, any kind, before, sabe</i>
<i>'In the old days, this boss knew anything'</i> | Type A1 |
| (3) Transitive Clause ₂
$\underline{+}$ Adv $\underline{+}$ Subj + Pred $\underline{+}$ obj + Into#
<i>Make no camp</i>
<i>'They did not construct a new camp'</i> | Type A1 |
| (4) Equational Clause ₁
$\underline{+}$ Adv $\underline{+}$ Subj + Compl + Into#
<i>Number three boss, here, my come time, Mr. Gheet</i>
<i>'The third ranking administrator of this place was Mr. Gheet when I came here)</i> | Type B |
| (5) Equational Clause ₂
$\underline{+}$ Subj + Copula + Compl + Into#
<i>This is the all same house</i>
<i>'This house is similar to the house I was talking about'</i> | Type A3 |
| (6) Existence Clause ₁
$\underline{+}$ Subj + Into#
<i>Only one</i>
<i>'There was only one bath in the community'</i> | |
| (7) Existence Clause ₂
$\underline{+}$ Subj + Pred + Loc Ad ^{there} + Into#
<i>Me is there now</i>
<i>'I live there now'</i> | Type A3 |
| (8) Existence Clause ₃
$\underline{+}$ Adv + Subj + Pred ^{ExV: get, got} + Into#
<i>Suppose three guy got, three guys change</i>
<i>'If there were three guys, these three guys take turns in cooking'</i> | |

Nagara

Glissmeyer

(9) Adjective Clause

Type B

\pm Adv \pm Subj + Pred^{Adj} + Into#

By and by, too much kolohe yo

'By and by we became very mischievous'

By way of note regarding the above, this writer considers Transitive Clause₂ a permutation of Transitive Clause₁, and therefore not a separate syntagmeme.

Nagara's Equational Clause₂ and Existence Clause₂ seem to differ only in having different filler classes for the tagmeme following the copula, and therefore would be the same syntagmeme.

Existence Clause₁ appears to be a deleted form of what we call Type B clause.

Existence Clause₃ is not equated with a type in this study. The interpretation in this study of the use of *get* and *got* remains indeterminate. These forms seem related to the use of *has*, *have*, and *had* in appearing in structures that seem to function similarly to the expletive in this analysis. Here are the few examples which occur in this data, all from children.

Why has candy in that box?

Have some red horsy.

Had this other guy.

Had this warrior.

Had swing.

A ten-year-old boy presented the only occurrence of the use of *get* similar to Nagara's example, and it has the flavor of a proverb:

*The guide star wented, the moon come up, and get rings
around the moon, no go out!*

'Why?'

Hawaiians come out, for salvation.

This problem is one of a good number which call for research by native speakers of the systems.

Incidentally, it can be seen that, in contrast to this study, Nagara considered intonation as a clause level feature (see Chapter One, note 15, for corroboration of the practice followed here).

It will be noted that what is here described as a peripheral tagmeme, i.e., LOCative, is analyzed in Nagara as an adverb, optional (as in Examples of Intransitive and Equational₁) or obligatory (in Existence₂). Another tagmeme, here interpreted as DIRection in the periphery, is in Nagara diagnostic of the two types of directional clauses. In his first type, the direction tagmeme is in final position, and in the second it occurs between the subject and predicate. These are both in intransitive clauses in 'PEJH', whereas in Keaukaha

English the direction tagmeme has a wider distribution. (Reference is made to Matrix 6, Section 2.3., and to Appendix B.) DIRection occurs in Keaukaha English with transitive clauses before the verb (Example 35, Appendix B), before the object (Example 47), and after the nucleus (Examples 57, 58, 144), as well as with intransitive clauses in final position after the nucleus (Examples 59, 60, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 134, 154, 155, 202).

It is not clear to this writer exactly what Nagara intended in the tagmeme labeled \pm Adverb. In the example given for Intransitive Clause, '*church*' seems to be a permuted locative. But in the example for Equational Clause₁, there are both locative and temporal expressions, and only the single ' \pm Adverb' tagmeme in the formula.

There also seems to be some question regarding Nagara's Intransitive Clause and his Directional Intransitive clauses as separate constructions, since he gives the same example for Intransitive and for Directional Intransitive Clause₂.

Referring back to Matrix 16 (this section), a comparative statement can be made regarding nuclear clause structures in the two systems of Hawaii English. In 'PEJH' there are six nuclear clause structures (counting the y's), and a comparable similar count in Keaukaha English amounts to forty-two clause syntagmemes (counting the x's plus the passives and expletives).

As to children's speech in this study, it has been observed (73-76) that both children and adults use permuted constructions - in the sequence Object-Subject-Verb, Subject-Verb-Object-Ditransitive, Equation-Verb-Subject, and Comment-Topic. Further, Verb-Object-Subject and Verb-Subject were spoken only by children, with Object-Subject-Verb-Ditransitive and Verb-Subject-Equation only by adults. A comparative recapitulation of the specific types used by both groups has been abstracted from Chapters Two and Four, and is presented in the following table (Table Va). Numbers indicate the total number of different types of constructions used by the respective groups as shown in the preceding matrices.

TABLE Va
SUMMARY COMPARISON OF CERTAIN TYPES OF USAGE
BY CHILDREN AND ADULTS

	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Periphery			
/#_____	6	12	9
/_____V	2	3	4
Obj Equ /_____Comment Particle	2	2	5
/Nucl_____#	14	23	33
Negative			
<i>no</i>	1	1	1
<i>never</i>	1	1	1
<i>not</i>	1	6	3
<i>n't</i>	5	6	1
Appositives	5	6	13
Discontinuous Appositives	18	4	16
	<u>55</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>86</u>

Table Vb specifies the particular occurrences enumerated in Table Va.

TABLE Vb			
SUMMARY COMPARISON OF CERTAIN USAGES IN CLAUSE TYPES BY CHILDREN AND ADULTS			
	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Peripheral Tagmemes (see Matrices 5 and 6)			
/#__Nucleus			
LOC	Expl ₁	A1, A3	Pass A1
DUR			A2
COND		A1, A2, A3	A1a
MAN	B		
COM			A1
T	Expl ₁	A1, A1a, A2, A3, B, Pass A1	
RESP			A1, A3, B
INSTR		A1	A3
C	A1		
DUR LOC	A3		
COND T	A2		
T LOC			Expl ₃
/___V			
DIR	A1		
DUR		A1, A2	A1a, A3
COND	A2		
T		A1	A2, A3
/___Obj Equ Comment Particle			
DIR			A1
LOC			A1
DUR		A3	B
MAN			A1
COM	A1		
T	A3	A1	
RESP			A3

TABLE Vb (continued)

	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Peripheral Tagmemes			
/Nucleus__#			
DIR		A1, A2	
LOC	Expl ₁	A1, A2, B	A3, Pass A1, Expl ₃
DUR	A2, Expl ₁	A1, A3	B
MAN		A1, A2	B
COM		A1, A2	A3
T	A1a	A1, A2, A3, B	Pass A1
RESP	A1a		A2, A3, B
PURP		A1, A2	A3
INSTR	Pass A1		A2
BEN		A1	
DIR LOC		A2	
DIR MAN	A2		
DIR COM			A2
DIR T			A2
DIR PURP			A2
DIR INSTR			A2
LOC DUR		A2	A1
LOC MAN			A2
LOC COM	A2		
LOC T		A1, A2	A3
LOC DIR			A2
LOC PURP		A2	Pass A1
DUR MAN			A1
DUR T			A1
COND MAN	A1		
MAN T	A2		
MAN DIR			A1
MAN DUR			A2
MAN LOC			A2
COM T	A2		
T PURP	A1		
T LOC			A1a
RESP PURP			A3

TABLE Vb (continued)			
	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Peripheral Tagmemes			
/Nucleus__#			
PURP LOC			A3
DIR LOC INSTR	A2		
LOC DUR COM			A2
LOC MAN T			A2
MAN PURP INSTR			A2
MAN DUR COM			A2
COM DUR T	A2		
Negative Tagmeme (see Matrix 7)			
<i>no</i>			
/Subj__(Aux)MV	A2	A1	A1a
<i>never</i>			
/Subj__(Aux)MV	A2	A1	A1a
<i>not</i>			
/Subj__(Aux)MV	A3	A1, Pass A1	
/Topic__Comment		B	
/First Aux__ Remaining VP		A1, A2, Pass A1	A3
/EquVP__Equ			A3
/adverb__NP			A3
<i>n't</i>			
/First Aux__ Remaining VP	A1a, Expl ₁	A1, A2, A3, Pass A1	
/EquVP__Equ		A3	
/First Aux__ Subject	A1a, A3	A1	
/Aux__Pred other than VP	A1		A2
Appositives (see Matrix 13)			
Subject	A1	A2, A3	A1a, Pass A1
Topic			B
VP			A2
Object	A1	A1a	Pass A1a
Equ		A3	
Expl Subject			Expl ₁

TABLE Vb (continued)			
	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Appositives			
DIR			A1
LOC		A1, A2	A3, B
DUR	A2		
MAN			A1a
T	A1, A3		A2, Pass A1
RESP			A1
Discontinuous Appositives (see Matrix 14)			
Subject			
/# __ non-nuclear clause tagmeme		A3	
/# __ <i>you know</i> , etc.			A2
/# __ <i>oh</i> , etc.	A1		A3
/# __ extra-clause structure	A2		
/# __ <i>you know</i> + non- nuclear clause tagmeme	A1		
/# __ <i>oh</i> , etc. + <i>you</i> <i>know</i> , etc.	A3		
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __ non- nuclear clause tagmeme			A1
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __ <i>you</i> <i>know</i> , etc.			A1
/nucleus __ #		A2, A3	
/you know, etc. __ #	A1		A2
Topic			
/# __ non-nuclear clause tagmeme			B
Verb			
/Nucleus __ #			A1a
Object			
/# __ Nucleus	A1		
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __ nucleus	A1		
/# <i>oh</i> , etc. __ nucleus	A1		

TABLE Vb (continued)			
	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Discontinuous Appositives			
Object			
/#da + <i>you know</i> __nucleus	A1		
/#da + <i>oh</i> , etc. __nucleus	A1		
/# <i>you know</i> + non- nuclear clause tagmeme __ <i>you</i> <i>know</i> , etc.			A1
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __non- nuclear clause tagmeme			A1
/nucleus __#			Ala
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __#	A1		
/you know __#		A1	
Equation			
/# __nucleus	A3		
Comment			
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __#			B
Ditr			
/#non-nuclear clause tagmeme __extra- clause tagmeme			Pass Ala
/nucleus __#	Ala		
/extra-clause structure __#			Ala
Inf Object			
/# __clause subj	A1		
/inf subj __inf	A1		
LOC			
/non-nuclear clause tagmeme __#	A1		Ala
/you know, etc. __#			Ala
COND			
/Subj __you know, etc.	Ala		

TABLE Vb (continued)			
	Children only	Children and Adults	Adults only
Discontinuous Appositives			
T			
/non-nuclear clause			
tagmeme___#	Ala		
RESP			
/nucleus___#			A3

In the section on children's speech, Ruth Brend (1968:70-73) gives some examples of constructions used by children, coinciding with adult usage.³ Then she lists types of 'nonconformities (i.e., when compared with adult speech) found in the speech of children,' saying that these occur much more often with children than with older speakers. The list is made up of 'repetitions, corrections and false starts, hesitation forms, change of normal tagmemic order, omission of obligatory tagmemes, and errors.' With each category are examples. Those given for 'change of normal tagmemic order' resemble Keaukaha English constructions here called 'discontinuous appositives'. They are as follows (72):

... ya después entonces pues nos casi juntaron [las dos familias]
'then, after, then well, we almost joined - the two families.'

... porque ya se puede mover para todos lados [ella con sus muletas]
'because now she can move all over - she with her crutches.'

Perhaps such constructions are one means forged by speakers of languages like Spanish and English, which do not have a formalized topicalizing device such as *wa* in Japanese.

Returning to comments about future projects, we wish to amplify concerning research that has suggested itself as this study developed. The preceding table (Table Vb) supplies evidence in agreement with studies such as Hunt's *Syntactic Maturity in Schoolchildren and Adults* (1970:43), reporting, among other items, more passives in use by older individuals. For future investigation of Keaukaha English, it would be desirable to proceed beyond the analysis of types given here, to an analysis of frequency of these items and of all others that the data would provide. The study could take advantage of techniques such as Hunt's, which have been applied to both free and controlled language production. However, the interest of this writer, whether speech or writing is the object of investigation, is more in spontaneous lan-

guage than in directed or manipulated specimens obtained through interview, questionnaire, and stereotype frame techniques, clinical as results from them may seem. I would therefore wish to encourage the development of means of preserving and analyzing naturally produced speech and writing, far beyond any now known and used. Then perhaps we would be approaching closer than has yet been possible to knowledge of the individual psychic processes as they are associated with language.

Also, if the directions and dimensions of research outlined at the beginning of this section could become actuality, even more might be accomplished than establishing solid ground for the use of the terms **Keaukaha English, Hawaii English, Standard English**, and the like. Extended and comprehensive studies in a situation with the linguistic multiplicity of Hawaii should add immeasurably to our understanding of language variation throughout the world. The picture in Hawaii is thoroughly inviting for large scale research, because Japanese, Chinese, some of the Philippine languages, and possibly Hawaiian, in addition to English, are now to be observed in the actual processes of change. Understanding of this sort is of special interest to linguists. It is possible also that realization, by people in general, of the luxuriance, intricacy, individuality, and shared characteristics of language and dialect systems could be germinal in the psychic life of the nation, and could support more genuinely democratic human attitudes.

N O T E S

1. Hawaiian: Judd-Pukui 1954:10, 24; Pukui-Elbert 1965:xxvi. Chinese: Kratochvil 1968:130; Rand 1969:14-19.
2. Bolinger 1957:24, 38 (elliptical, e.g., 'Ever try Campbell's?' 'Seen anybody around?'); 24, 36-37 (tagellip, e.g., 'Get there, will they?' 'Waited how long, did you?'); 63 (sert-2, e.g., 'Like it?' 'Isn't ready?'); 30 (tagsert-2, e.g., 'Wanted it, did he?').
3. Ruth Brend (1968:70-73) cautioned that her remarks regarding children's speech were to be taken as preliminary since her analysis of Mexican Spanish clauses was based primarily on the speech of adults.

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF MAJOR DECLARATIVE CLAUSE TYPES

- A1 + Subject-as-actor + Transitive Verb Phrase + Object
Your mother must know plenty!
I need plenty more clay.
Took him up to the principal.
I don't believe.
- Ala + Subject-as-actor + Transitive Verb Phrase + Ditransitive
Object + Object
I give you one more chance.
Kapune told me that.
I tell I'm Hawaiian.
I give you!
- Alb + Subject-as-actor + Transitive Verb Phrase + Object
 + Attributive
The wife calls him a rebel.
You call it sea urchins.
They call it pokeaukeau.
You call that now?
Call that uh ...
I don't know what they call.
- A2 + Subject-as-actor + Intransitive Verb Phrase
I just stand there.
This piece falling down.
The earth go down.
He talk all day, all night.
So then, then, go by the street there.

A3 + Subject-as-item + Equational Verb Phrase + Equation

It's almost by the bushes.

You're a Portugee!

Is too much money!

Is the capital.

I getting tired.

It tastes good.

B + Topic + Comment

Maybe she sick.

The tire flat.

I pau.

He sure a midget.

APPENDIX B
EXAMPLES OF PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES
(n.b. Matrix 6, 46 ff)

- 1 *About five hundred feet away it'll shock you.*
2 *... there you find different nationalities ...*
3 *... over here it's quite quiet.*
4 *... over here it means to carry cane.*
5 *On the island here as we are known as the orchid island, ...*
6 *In my house there is a lot of dust.*
7 *... prior to that time he used to work with the Army Transport
Service.*
8 *... then she would teach us.*
9 *Then my sister then will come in that.*
10 *You don't tell me your name, I'll take you up to the principal.*
11 *This way it flat.*
12 *... between those three boy they gonna stick five dollars ...*
13 *... and then she put bread.*
14 *Now we adopt these two other one from the niece that died of --
1960.*
15 *Then my friend let him, let me his pipoboard.*
16 *... this morning as I told you the first tenants of coming into
the Hawaiian Homes area in Keaukaha were people ...*
17 *... the next morning the execution came.*
18 *That time we only can play at certain spots.*
19 *... now I'm pretty good in my swimming.*
20 *That time it was uh Kahamoto, Sparky Kahamoto ...*
21 *... last time my mother dem down the beach in front of the beer
club ...*
22 *That time we still little.*
23 *... sometimes it's closed.*
24 *... later (he) was transferred to our terminal division ...*

- 25 *For the Islands they don't need a place like over here ...*
 26 *To us is pelehuu.*
 27 *... for fish and opihis and uh all kinds of fish there, lots there.*
 28 *... with the bat you aim the ball.*
 29 *With that they can buy two case coke ...*
 30 *... with this lei that would be the proper uh thing to give
 impression that you first meet.*
 31 *... and the referee told him to look someplace for the cheat.*
 32 *Every time/on third base they stay out, man!*
 33 *Red Eagle gave em chop right on the neck.*
 34 *Once/in a land there lived five Chinese brothers.*
 35 *Bernard, you have to back put em over here.*
 36 *... he always had a cigar in his mouth ...*
 37 *... you always keep your eye on the ball.*
 38 *... I always tell that I have been driving ...*
 39 *... it always pops up right into my face.*
 40 *The wife and him always arguing ...*
 41 *... the waves always be --*
 42 *Then my sister then will come in that.*
 43 *I once rode Hawaiian but, ...*
 44 *... he just measure above my belt ...*
 45 *I just went.*
 46 *... he now is the uncle of this pure Hawaiian girl.*
 47 *... she brought back this thing.*
 48 *... they have at Punahou the pool.*
 49 *(I don't think) it's still there.*
 50 *Neki was formerly a, a longshoreman.*
 51 *That time we still little.*
 51a *She speaks perfect of that language.*
 52 *... yesterday I was playing with my cousin baseball after school.*
 53 *I ate last night the poi.*
 54 *I phoned yesterday Mitchell.*
 55 *... my time is right now 32 seconds for 50 yards ...*
 56 *... it seems to me that French is getting harder than ever.*
 57 *... you always keep your eye on the ball.*
 58 *... (I) get more out of it ...*
 59 *When a ball come to you ...*
 60 *... then you lean to the left ...*
 61 *She put some sugar in a big spoon.*
 62 *... you press on the back ...*
 63 *I going fifth grade.*
 64 *That time we only can play at certain spots.*

65 My mother was one of the original, charter, down in this area.
66 ... last time my mother dem down the beach in front of the beer
club ...
67 They very stricky, you know, there ...
68 ... other nationality not allowed there.
69 There's scorpions over here.
70 ... there was conducted school there.
71 We don't have any still.
72 ... they used lot of uh expressions like that you know during
the war.
73 ... we swim for an hour and a half or an hour.
74 I'm sick already.
75 ... she's gonna be here couple a more days ...
76 ... maybe they kind of bashful yet.
77 ... especially when there's a good show on.
78 We just cut it in half.
79 So he said, Hawaiian custom.
80 ... (I) stand at attention.
81 ... our club placed third.
82 ... you on the wave good ...
83 I play for Keka Warriors.
84 ... you have a light color with a really dark ...
85 He no can play with ball.
86 ... (the traditional kiss) that goes with it ...
87 It's nice, you know, with that lei ...
88 I saw you yesterday.
89 He was doing the coaching that time.
90 He told me to stay on the surfboard then.
91 ... it went break already.
92 ... (a wave) that hasn't break yet ...
93 ... my stuff was over here more first.
94 I'm gonna be a junior next year.
95 ... the game pau about eleven o'clock.
96 ... you a kamaaina now.
97 Just got married about a month ago.
98 ... you have a own book for you.
99 They find job for you.
100 Sometimes, you know, they say too much hard words for understand.
101 They take it for credit.
102 Gloria and I went to eat some soda pops.
103 ... then while you're training for a certain job ...
104 ... (a loving family) start with his mother and father.

- 105 A pipoboard is a board that is made out of a special kind of
wood ...
- 106 I gave my mother something for Mother's Day.
- 107 ... my wife and I worked on em.
- 108 It's gonna be real hard for me.
- 109 For 'bout your size, uh, about a nine feet board 'd be just
right for you.
- 110 But you the right person for this.
- 111 If you want it to go to the left, you lean ...
- 112 ... they could go down/to Thailand and Singapore and other
places ...
- 113 I didn't look it/exactly.
- 114 ... (this guy) that came from the Mainland/wi' big group ...
- 115 ... (if) I were going out/for adventure ...
- 116 ... (they) ride around/in Cadillac and uh all of that.
- 117 The nose like that, I can go straight/along the wave like that.
- 118 If it's rough day, the wave won't be steady.
- 119 It's hard to keep your balance standing up/when the whitewash
gets to you.
- 120 ... cause there you can bodysurf.
- 121 Didn't have your grandmother, you wouldn't be here right now.
- 122 You weren't supposed to, it's finished already.
- 123 You better shut up before I give you two black eyes.
- 124 I play there/for three years.
- 125 I went stay Honolulu/more long than you.
- 126 I lived in Keaukaha/almost over thirty years.
- 127 I don't want you to go home/emptyhanded.
- 128 ... my father almost go off the road/with the um our new car.
- 129 Tomorrow we play Cardinals at Maiopa/at three o'clock.
- 130 ... I can bring her back/the next time.
- 131 ... I went to summer school/last year.
- 132 ... (like) us go to the ninth grade/now.
- 133 How long you been in the Islands/now, Gloria?
- 134 ... (he) just came back/from Fort Ord.
- 135 Hawaiians come out/for salvation.
- 136 ... (some boys) that came here/to knock down the breadfruit ...
- 137 ... (the pig) to be put in the imu/to be cooked.
- 138 Just cause my name was Osborn Green they kick me out of school.
- 139 ... (you can) maneuver on the way/easier.
- 140 ... nobody beat my record yet/then.
- 141 Eena make em then/like that.
- 142 ... then/now a new teacher will come.

- 143 ... they live with their mother so many years after - happily/
after.
- 144 ... you can uh push straight/along the wave.
- 145 ... they have been living as brothers and sisters/ever since.
- 146 The pigs just run wild/there.
- 147 Then my mother went with Hawaiian salt/then, ...
- 148 If it easier for you, you have the kneeling stance ...
- 149 We had one paper yesterday/for test.
- 152 It isn't enough for me/to help me go to college.
- 153 ... (I) been there for our uh swimming championships/at uh
Punahou.
- 154 ... when you look up on a tree/at in the evenings ...
- 155 ... I go up/to the pool/on my bike.
- 156 Fred and I worked down around/so many many years/together.
- 157 ... you can come back/the same/some day.
- 158 ... they can get along easy/to speak, speak especially/without
sign language.
- 159 ... the five lived happily/ever after/with their mother.
- 160 ... they live with their mother/so many years/after ...
- 161 ... what I told Gloria this morning/over cup of coffee/at the
Hukilau.
- 202 ... come this out/the water.
- 204 That's the best time to get to the nose.
- 205 But when we went there weren't anybody.

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF APPOSITIVES

(n.b. Matrix 13, p. 70)

- 1 Oh, my grandma/she makes a big pan.
- 2 ... the stamp/it was crossed with the black ink.
- 3 ... mine/it came off again.
- 4 Me, Mabel, Harolene and Marlene/we all want peanuts.
- 5 My auntie/she's living Kona ...
- 6 ... the kind um the kind left field/he was splinky, man!
- 7 ... cause him/he no do nothing outside.
- 8 Eh, like 'Good morning'/it's gonna be ...
- 9 My mother/she says that.
- 10 ... what you call lalau um no laulau/it's a kind made in ti leaf.
- 12 This boy/he want to go to school.
- 13 ... the pig/they just run run in the yard ...
- 14 ... a kind of salad you want/it comes out ...
- 15 ... charcoal/'a's what they hauling.
- 16 Mrs. Makaio/she told me 'Now when you get there ...
- 17 They/they kind people.
- 18 They/they loving people.
- 18a ... the pig they just run/run in the yard ...
- 19 Gonna make all that/all that tape?
- 20 ... she assigns us reports/book reports.
- 21 ... I would get anything/a cloth or shirt or anything ...
- 22 ... he brought one/an electric eel.
- 23 I was told it/when you look up on a tree at in the evenings
gonna see lots of turkey ...
- 26 I think so/that was a mistake ...
- 27 You folks want any peaches or bread/anything like that?
- 28 Is nice/really nice.
- 29 It's about this/about an inch long.

- 30 My mother was one of the original/charter, down in this area.
 31 But it's all sand/all white sand.
 32 When I saw that I say is so funny/different from our way of
kaluing.
 33 Gonna be right down there/lower brackets.
 34there's a soup/a whitewash ...
 36 Yeah, the time when we was playing over here/right around
here, yah?
 38 Makaha/there, the waves aren't consistent.
 39 I made trips to the Mainland/more especially to the East Coast.
 40 I talk long time/a lot.
 41 I go every day/every five days in a week.
 42 ... speak the way/'Where you was going tomorrow?'
 43 I win two games tiddley-wink already/that time.
 44 This time/next time we come back, you better talk ...
 45 ... what he say then/when he was down at uh Hawaiian Homes?
 46 Well, what went I done with that/the picture?
 47 ... you have to ask the boss how many days you have to come
out/maybe one week or one month.
 48 ... (they) work their way up/from south end Italy right up to
France ...
 49 You put it on there/by mine's one.
 50 I can't go over there/to Coconut Grove ...
 51 Makaha/there, the waves aren't consistent.
 52 ... (he) piano player in the barn/the sow barn.
 53 ... my father passed away in January/this past January.
 54 ... (we) be down the hall at nine o'clock/tomorrow morning.
 55 ... their name will be changed when they go to school/in September.

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF DISCONTINUOUS APPOSITIVES

(n.b. Matrix 14, pp. 71-72)

- 1 My mother um four she had four.
- 2 ... this guy you know the light headlight he showed it too
bright ...
- 3 Whereas today the students whether they want to or don't want
to the opportunity is granted to them ...
- 4 Now like us see we take for one two three hours, eh.
- 5 They fly it in the morning about four you know - the freights,
the planes that bring the freight.
- 6 The front, you know, it jumps like that.
- 7 ... he and all his friends when they was drunk at a time them
go in a kind ...
- 8 I'm going fifth grade - his and me and him.
- 9 He went, he went, this boy.
- 10 This guy from the Mainland came over, professor here ...
- 11 ... (a person) that formerly comes from Niihau you know Henry
Kahale.
- 12 And guava - guava - certain guava with salt and sugar that's
what I like.
- 13 ... the children in the Island here, in saying yes and no,
they're just not a hit ...
- 15 ... the taro leave um you know it's a foot deep.
- 14 My second older sister why she was only three pounds.
- 16 But the runner was slow - runner, the one.
- 17 Ooh, he's some tall, Mr. Crowley.
- 18 That's Hawaiian name, Kelelani.
- 19 That's what I been eating, kalu pig here, kalu pig there,
kalu pig there.
- 20 Are they contented the people?

- 21 That's your house this?
- 21a That's the most important thing of the family, finding
generations ...
- 21b It wouldn't be advisable to stand up ...
- 21c It's hard to keep your balance.
- 22 The people over there they all really friendly.
- 23 ... people there they kind.
- 24 These haoles ... ask me 'Nik, you kanaka?' ask.
- 25 Moray eel you can spear it ...
- 26 And this I just put it on.
- 27 All this, this, this and that two poodle my brother John made it.
- 28 Rabbit you better not take my rabbit!
- 29 ... so the blood I won't lose any blood.
- 30 Oh, the moon I forgot the moon.
- 31 ... this guy you know the light, headlight he showed it too
bright ...
- 32 My mother um four she had four.
- 33 Well, you see Rosina and Sarah here, see, then lately I adopted
them ...
- 34 ... and put it on your weight on the left side of the board.
- 35 My sister and I wanna put The Claw on, Red Eagle ...
- 36 ... leave one hole you know one place for you pour the water in.
- 37 Then my little girl brought a meh you know the lesson what
they give to Niihau.
- 38 Ask some questions, Neki, Rosina, what she liked about pamphlet.
- 39 Hey, give us some cards to us.
- 40 Anything else you wish to ask them you should ask now, more
especially the student that attended the classes of Crowley.
- 41 Whereas today the students whether they want to or don't want
to, the opportunity is granted to them ...
- 42 Far it's really far.
- 43 They very stricky you know there, very strict.
- 44 Eel you have to clean it really good ...
- 45 Let him his open it.
- 46 He has some hair on he, a little bit, right up here.
- 47 ... (they) hike about nine miles way up, go down and then,
about two thousand feet down.
- 48 They use to go there for goat hunting in that area ...
- 49 He play in the Hawaiian Eye, you know the movie Hawaiian Eye ...
- 50 Then my sister then will come in that.
- 51 Then my mother went with Hawaiian salt then ...
- 52 For 'bout your size about a nine feet board 'd be just right
for you.

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE (n.b. Matrix 7, p. 50)

- 1 *I no like poi.*
- 2 *I no can place that name.*
- 3 *... we no owe nobody.*
- 4 *... (you) no go ...*
- 5 *They never see the other part.*
- 6 *I never believe.*
- 7 *They never did us like that.*
- 8 *He never go school.*
- 9 *I not make em button.*
- 10 *... they not gonna learn anything about it.*
- 11 *I not gonna be tired.*
- 12 *(You) not supposed to show that.*
- 13 *... but only that other nationality not allowed there.*
- 14 *I not tired.*
- 15 *No, this not VISTA.*
- 16 *I cannot make em button.*
- 17 *... she's not taking this English study.*
- 18 *... they cannot come.*
- 19 *... they cannot come out.*
- 20 *Otherwise I cannot be there.*
- 21 *... the second Chinese brother could not be burn.*
- 22 *... on the day that I'm not schedule to work ...*
- 23 *... when they're not around ...*
- 24 *... they're just not a hit ...*
- 25 *We don't have any still.*
- 26 *I didn't believe that.*
- 27 *... if you don't tell me your name ...*
- 28 *... I can't stay up ...*

- 29 You shouldn't go in there.
- 30 ... you wouldn't be here right now.
- 31 It wouldn't be advisable ...
- 32 ... it wasn't going to be sent.
- 33 ... he wouldn't get burned at all.
- 34 ... there weren't anybody.
- 35 It ain't a fiberboard.
- 36 ... the waves aren't consistent.
- 37 Can't you see I'm busy with Batman?
- 38 Don't you have a kodak?
- 39 Why don't you tell it to us?
- 40 Doesn't it get crowded in here?
- 41 I can't always tell too good.
- 42 ... most of the students didn't further than that.

APPENDIX F

TENTATIVE PHRASE STRUCTURE OF FILLER CLASSES (n.b. Matrix 8, pp. 53-54; Matrix 9, p. 55)

F(I) Explanation of Special Filler Class Labels

- qu_1 = *all, just, only_1, something*
 mod_1 = *about, almost, mostly, right, sure, way*
 mod_2 = *else, other, own*
 qu_a = *over, too, under*
 num = cardinal and ordinal numbers, *any, both, enough, half, lots, many, much, next, only_2, plenty*
 qu_b = *more, most*
 MOD = adjective₁, peripheral pro, qu_1 , num, prepositional phrase, relative clause, infinitive clause, complement
adjective₁ = *away, age, long, fat, others of quantity, time, and distance*

F(II) Tentative Projection of Nominal Phrase Constituents in Keaukaha English

S1 Pro Forms

- (S1a) personal = *I, me, you, he, him, she, her, it, we, us, they, them*
(S1b) indefinite = *anybody, anything, everybody, everyone, everything, nobody, nothing, some, somebody, something*
(S1c) possessive = *mine, yours, hers*
(S1d) demonstrative = *this, that*
(S1e) reflexive = *myself, yourself, themselves*
(S1f) predication = *so**

* Re 'Pro-adjunctal *so*' see Ruth Crymes (1968:83-84).

(Slg) peripheral = *across, around, back, down, out, up*
 (Direction); *there, here, someplace,*
down, out, down around (Locative);
always, on (Duration); *over* (Manner);
with, together (Comitative); *now, then*
 (T); *then* (Condition); *how come* (QCause)

(S1a₁) Personal Pronoun Phrase: + Sla + qu₁
 e.g., *they all*

(S1b₂) Indefinite Pronoun Phrase: + Slb + mod_{2a}
 e.g., *somebody else*

(S2a) Determiner Noun Phrase:

+ mod ₁	+qu ₁ #	+DET#	+mod ₂	+qu _a	+num#	+qu _b	+mod ₂	+adj#	+N	+ N *
1										<i>lots</i>
2										<i>poi</i>
3										<i><u>mehameha</u> **</i>
4	<i>all</i>									
5	<i>all</i>	<i>that</i>								
6	<i>mostly all</i>	<i>the</i>								<i>doors</i>
7	<i>only</i>									<i>Hawaiian</i>
8		<i>a</i>	<i>other</i>							<i>island</i>
9		<i>the</i>	<i>other</i>							<i>auntie</i>
10		<i>the</i>	<i>other</i>		<i>five</i>			<i>Chinese</i>		<i>brothers</i>
11		<i>the</i>			<i>fourth</i>			<i>Chinese</i>		<i>brother</i>
12		<i>these</i>			<i>two</i>		<i>other</i>			<i>one</i>
13		<i>this</i>			<i>two</i>					<i>catfish</i>
14		<i>the</i>								<i>kind</i>
15		<i>this</i>								<i>pamphlet</i>
16	<i>a</i>							<i>fine</i>		
17	<i>the</i>								<i>guide</i>	<i>star</i>
18		<i>the</i>			<i>five</i>					
19		<i>the</i>			<i>fifth</i>					
20		<i>the</i>						<i>squeaky</i>		<i>stuff</i>
21			<i>other</i>							<i>nationality</i>
22					<i>three</i>					<i>men</i>
23						<i>more</i>				<i>monster</i>
24						<i>more</i>				<i>riddles</i>
25								<i>dumb</i>		<i>people</i>
26								<i>next</i>		<i>game</i>

* Possible phrase final is indicated by the symbol #
 (n.b. Example Nos. 4, 5, 16, 18, 19).

** Any citation form

(S2b) Proper Noun Determiner Phrase: + DET + Proper Noun
 e.g., *the Karenio* (boy's name)
Cardinals
(the) Niihau
Grandma

(D1a) Double Nominal Phrase: + S1a/2a/D2 + S1a,c/2
 e.g., *you folks*
you guys
one the kind
some the basics
copy yours
this kind car
the kind rocks
two case coke
only about sixty pound poi
haole type music
south end Italy

(D1x) Reverse Nominal Phrase: + S1a/2a/D2 + S2/D2+MOD
 e.g., *my sister Lily*
the Club Kontiki
a Hawaiian every taste
'em my wife here
Mr Crowley

(D2) Possessive Nominal Phrase:

+ poss + num + mod₂ + adj + N

poss = personal pronoun/possessive pronoun/possessive proper
 noun/possessive nominal phrase/double nominal phrase

<i>we</i>		<i>kalu</i>
<i>my</i>		<i>auntie</i>
<i>my</i>	<i>little</i>	<i>girl</i>
<i>my</i>	<i>both</i>	<i>parents</i>
<i>their</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>club</i>
<i>Pearlie's</i>		<i>godfather</i>
<i>my mother's</i>		<i>one</i>
<i>Lee folks</i>		<i>house</i>
<i>my sister</i>		<i>friends</i>
<i>Gloria Glissmeyer</i>		<i>name</i>

S1/2/D1a/2 + MOD: + Nominal Phrase + MOD
about three inches fat
the people here

<i>this one</i>	<i>only</i>
<i>size</i>	<i>nine</i>
<i>a report</i>	<i>from Niihau</i>
<i>the lesson</i>	<i>that they had</i>
<i>a best time</i>	<i>to get to the nose</i>
<i>the only time</i>	<i>we get off</i>
<i>my first time</i>	<i>I came over here</i>

*F(III) Tentative Projection of Adjective Phrase Structure

Adjective Phrase: \pm qu₁ \pm mod + ADJ \pm MOD

<i>just</i>	<i>round</i>	
<i>so</i>	<i>busy</i>	
	<i>different</i>	<i>from Hawaiian or any other nationality</i>
	<i>surprised</i>	<i>that I went to Honolulu to swim and I came in first for my heat</i>
	<i>good</i>	<i>enough</i>

F(IV) Tentative Projection of Verbal Phrase Structure

Verb Phrase: \pm Auxiliary + Verb

(a) *(ha)s, would, can, could, must, might, shall, should, get, used to, go₁, going, gonna, am about to, is about to, started to, go to, have to, had to, got to, am/is/are/was/were/ gonna* _____ (infinitive)

(b) *am, is* _____ (infinitive)/
_____ *ing* (present participle)

(c) *will* _____ (infinitive)/
_____ *ed* (past)

(d) *have, went₁* _____ (infinitive)/
_____ *en* (past participle)

(e) *are, was, were, be, been, goes, start(ed), keep (on), goes on, stop, go₂, has been, have been, will be, would be* _____ *ing* (present participle)

(f) *could have, should (ha)ve* _____ *en* (past participle)

(g) *(is) gonna, will, (woul)d, can, could, must, might, use(d) to* *be*

APPENDIX G

EXAMPLES OF FILLERS IN NON-VERBAL NUCLEAR TAGMEMES

(n.b. Matrix 8, pp. 53-54)

- 1 We were busting firecrackers.
- 2 Nobody bother you.
- 3 Somebody else will bring (food).
- 4 This NYC program help people.
- 5 The Karenio pick up some of the players.
- 6 You guys know how to play this game.
- 7 We kalu is so deep.
- 8 One of his sisters got two children.
- 9 My small sister and me wi' sing 'Pearly Shells'.
- 10 I gave my mother one cents.
- 11 They all give me leis.
- 12 The boss supply the poi.
- 13 Pearlie brought her a cake.
- 14 Pearlie's godfather gave her one muumuu.
- 15 One of the haole women ask me, 'Do they keep them in prisoner?'
- 16 I call them kids ...
- 17 The wife calls him a rebel.
- 18 It'll move.
- 19 Somebody went in there.
- 20 The girl went jump around.
- 21 Red Eagle fell to the mat.
- 22 You folks stay only one day?
- 23 Your sister come, so ...
- 24 ... so ... the front of the board comes up.
- 25 The wife and him always arguing.
- 26 It's really far.
- 27 Today everything is so fast.
- 28 Mine's Alohanani.

- 29 That was due to wild pitchor.
- 30 They all looked exactly alike.
- 31 Body surf is really hard.
- 32 Johnny is more educated.
- 33 My both parents are dead.
- 34 Best time to walk up to the nose is when the wave is about to break, when you can push straight along the wave.
- 35 What I'm talking about is the preparation of the pig to be put in the imu.
- 36 It's made out of pumpkin.
- 37 Anybody is allowed to go in.
- 38 Mostly all the doors were locked.
- 39 His neck would have to be chopped off.
- 40 This place here was opened up in the early twenties.
- 41 He's married.
- 42 This pamphlet was given to her.
- 43 I was told it.
- 44 He was found guilty.
- 45 The pool is supposed to be named after a lady.
- 46 There's something on the stove.
- 47 There was this eel.
- 48 There are some boys that came here to knock down the breadfruit.
- 49 He sure a midget.
- 50 Everything just like how we eating.
- 51 ... they all really friendly.
- 52 The game pau about eleven o'clock.
- 53 Batman weak.
- 54 This kind car better.
- 55 Yes, just cause his mother the coach.
- 56 The lessons 'at they had the same?
- 57 Whoever made this sure a ugly.
- 58 May not good speak of the kind rocks.
- 59 If she was whole Hawaiian better.
- 60 Over there good.
- 61 My sister said 'Now put something in his head'.
- 62 She drew me.
- 63 She's not doing anything.
- 64 He stoled mine.
- 65 I saw that ...
- 66 ... they express themselves.
- 67 I think so ...
- 68 We keep em both.

- 69 They bring the cattle to the ship.
- 70 We adopt these two other one.
- 71 They can buy two case coke.
- 72 They used to have the Club Kontiki.
- 73 Nobody beat my record.
- 74 They have only five they choose a month.
- 75 You can imagine what the tourists read with him ...
- 76 They don't know that over here it means to carry cane.
- 77 We don't know to surf.
- 78 This gramfather he wanted if he could talk to a shark.
- 79 I think it the steam.
- 80 You can eat raw fish and poi already.
- 81 She speaks perfect of that language.
- 84 I showing it.
- 85 I gave my mother something for Mother's Day.
- 86 He showed em some stuff.
- 87 Give us copy yours.
- 88 My friend let me his pipoboard.
- 89 This boy give em lot of trouble.
- 90 My father told me why I took French.
- 91 I told her that I made trips to the Mainland ...
- 92 He told me to stay on the surfboard.
- 93 They asked her if she wanted to join.
- 94 She tell me, 'Daddy, you better off than some of these haoles in Hilo playing big shot, ride around in Cadillac.
- 95 We call it pelehuu.
- 96 It's hard to keep your balance when the whitewash gets to you.
- 97 You know what they call fall in Hawaiian?
- 98 Pearlle brought her a cake.
- 99 We no owe nobody.
- 100 They supplying all the island with charcoal.
- 101 You know what I told Gloria this morning over cup of coffee at the Hukilau?
- 102 I told em my wife here that they go to school just to eat lunch.
- 103 He told his wife something like that.
- 104 To them they call it pokeaukeau.
- 105 Could be that.
- 106 She been there from when she graduated in high school in 1962.
- 107 He's a fast reader.
- 108 It was Kahamoto, Sparky Kahamoto.
- 109 That makes only about sixty pound poi.
- 109a They're about three inches fat.

- 110 Kamealoha is their father's name.
111 It's the first time I ever came to this kind of place.
112 That's what I like.
113 But when you with company, it seems that they lost their tongue.
114 ... the beauty part of the Islands is to listen to a guy talk
pidgin like Neki and Freddie sometimes.
115 Crest is before it break there.
116 She was a little Hawaiian 'n' English.
117 Cardinals is in first place.
118 The pitcher was all wild.
119 Now the point is if you want to get off the wave, if you
righthanded and with your right leg you push down with the back.
120 This mine.
121 That out.
122 You a newcomer.
123 All that I know the kind tree over there.
123a My feeling it's gonna be real hard for me.
124 All you have to do insert a quarter ...
125 Now you in the home of a full-blooded Hawaiian.
126 The feathers just round.
127 The teacher ask him 'What's your name?'
128 ... and ask their name will be changed.
129 I think there'll come a time when you don't have to eat ...

APPENDIX H

EXAMPLES OF FILLERS IN PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

(n.b. Matrix 9, p. 55)

- 1 *When a ball come to you, ...*
- 2 *I didn't look it exactly.*
- 3 *She brought back this thing.*
- 4 *... you always keep your eye on the ball.*
- 5 *... (he) just came back from Fort Ord.*
- 6 *... (they) work their way up from south end Italy ...*
- 7 *And when you throw the ball, aim where you throw.*
- 8 *... there you find different nationalities ...*
- 9 *Every time on third base they stay out, man!*
- 10 *I go a different school.*
- 11 *... they have at Punahou the pool.*
- 12 *... my auntie she's living Kona, my grandmother, but now
she's living Honolulu.*
- 13 *You put it on there by mine's one.*
- 14 *Kendall, stop playing with it other people's place.*
- 15 *On the island here as we are known as the orchid island ...*
- 16 *About five hundred feet away it'll shock you.*
- 17 *Oh, you should see when the jet came over where that needle went.*
- 18 *... especially when there's a good show on.*
- 19 *... they used lot of uh expressions like that you know during
the war.*
- 20 *Every time on third base they stay out, man!*
- 21 *I go every day, every five days in a week.*
- 22 *So uh better to lie down until you get your footing more ...*
- 23 *We been friends together for oh many years his children were small.*
- 24 *... then she would teach us.*
- 25 *I starting all over.*

- 26 ... (I) stand at attention ...
- 27 This way it flat.
- 28 That looks like Willie Mays.
- 29 But, see, the way the teacher gives it to us, she doesn't let us close our books.
- 30 She speaks perfect of that language.
- 31 ... speak the way 'Where you was going tomorrow?'
- 31a ... (the traditional kiss) that goes with it ...
- 32 Fred and I worked down around so many many years together.
- 33 ... you have a light color with a really dark ...
- 34 I play for Keka Warriors.
- 35 ... yesterday I was playing with my cousin baseball after school.
- 36 Then my friend let him, let me his pipoboard.
- 37 ... when you look up on a tree at in the evenings ...
- 38 That time we only can play at certain spots.
- 39 ... my father passed away in January ...
- 40 That time we challenged Keaukaha, I made a home run.
- 41 ... and as soon as she's been picked, they - then they take her to this training center ...
- 42 ... my stuff was over here more first.
- 43 No, the stamp, it was crossed with the black ink, and I didn't know, you know, you weren't supposed to it's finished already.
- 44 To us is pelehuu.
- 45 But you the right person for this.
- 46 For the Islands they don't need a place like over here ...
- 47 Yes, and she's she's one of the best pitcher in our team.
- 48 I read in this um Reader Digest ... and the last ending he chose he took lot of pills cause he got upset ...
- 49 I watch the next game who've play next.
- 50 They take it for credit.
- 51 Gloria and I went to eat some soda pops.
- 53 ... with the bat you aim the ball.
- 52 With that they can buy two case coke ...
- 54 A pipoboard is a board that is made out of a special kind of wood ...
- 55 How come you go over there?
- 56 They find job for you.
- 57 If she sick then now a new teacher will come.
- 58 You don't tell me your name I'll take you up to the principal.
- 59 When the wave breaks ... it wouldn't be advisable ...
- 60 Just cause my name was Osborn Green they kick me out of school.

APPENDIX I

Neki: *Kamealoha is their father's name. Kawe- Kamealoha means uh the lovely one. Mhm, could be that. Kamehameha means the lonely one. Kamehameha - mehameha is lonely. Ka means the, or they. The lonely one. Oh, Keaukaha, oh, oh, you got me there. I'm a lousy Hawaiian too. I'm a Hawaiian every taste, but I never went out and learned that language because*

Fred: *He's pure Hawaiian.*

Neki: *and uh I always tell that I have been driving tour for many many years and uh these haoles come up to me and ask me 'Nik, you kanaka?' ask. I tell I'm Hawaiian. Haul out the good Hawaiian, I'm the lousy Hawaiian. The last grade I was in, baby class I think, I graduated Hawaiian. But some of the words we know because we have to learn. The easy one - Keaukaha. I lived in Keaukaha almost over thirty years I don't know what the meaning. Keaukaha. Gosh, you got me there.*

Fred: *He says thirty years. Remember, as I told you this place here was opened up in the in the early twenties, and he came in the early thirties.*

Neki: *That's right.*

Fred: *My mother was one of the original, charter, down in this area.*

Neki: *Now they got to leave.*

Fred: *Now you want to hear recite something? What d'you want to say? Continue. M-m.. Now what would you like to ask of uh*

Neki: *Rosina.*

Fred: *your students? Rosina?*

Neki: *Well, you see, Rosina and uh Sarah here, see then lately I adopted them and ask their name will be changed when they go to school, in September. It's Kauhi. We just adopted a two babies.*

Fred: *His original name is Neki - n e k i - k a u h i.*

Neki: *It's gonna be - yeah. Well, it would be the, the father's name is Kamealoha. It would be Rosina - Kamealoha, then with the Kauhi in*

the end. We never drop off the father's name because

Fred: Cause living.

Neki: he's still living then.

Fred: You came to ask them some questions that uh they went to Professor Crowley's uh and they might be able to help you with some of the things that was taught to them, what they intend to, explain to you, to ask them. What your name, Rosana? Rosina and -

Neki: Sarah.

Rosina: No, fourth.

Fred: Speak louder. 'leven.

Rosina: Yah. Mr. Crowley brought it. He just give to me, and uh - just give us to

Fred: To read. To read. Do you understand uh what she's saying? Ask question? She's asking if uh Dr. Crowley ask you to read that and study that and go present that next year. Or to keep that. Try and say some of the questions them, maybe she might be able to answer you.

Neki: You know, the, you've take notice that the children in the Island here, in saying yes and no they're just not a hit you know, they - unless you ask them a special question, and then they'll answer. You find that all over.

Fred: Ask uh some questions, Neki, Rosina, what she liked about uh pamphlet.

Neki: Well, I tell you uh, Gloria, this pamphlet was given to her ... (jet plane noise) ... I doubt if she understand what uh what part of that program is the best. She never get through to the end. They didn't - No, they busy of taking care this little grandchild of ours too. And this boy give 'em lot of trouble. Wah-uh. They go to get hot water. I got check 'em this thing here.

Fred: Neki was formerly a, a longshoreman. He went out of retirement in 1960, and during his off duty he used to be a tour driver with the Mackenzie Tour. He's an accomplish uh musician, and he's a good singer. So you can imagine what the tourists read with him, and wild entertain! He's out of this world.

Neki: What that big buffalo -

Fred: Anything else you wish to ask them, you should ask now, more especially the student that attended the classes of uh Crowley.

Rosina: Over there.

Fred: Sure, sure. I'll tell you what I do. I tell you what I do, Gloria. On the day that I'm not schedule to work, I'll come and pick you up. That be uh probably best. I don't want you to go home empty-handed. I want you go home with something. Maybe when you get back, try work out an outline what you intend. Oh, you know - Don't you have

a kodak? It's nice, you know, with that lei - you know, the background. The contrast, yes. No, you have a light color with a really dark, you know. I di'n know what type of uh dress that you were gonna wear this morning. Maunaloa. It takes between three and three hundred fifty flowers to make a lei that size, so. On the island here as we are known as the orchid island, with this lei that would be the proper uh thing to give impression that you first meet. You see, whenever we meet a person for the first time, it's not only the traditional kiss that they - goes with it, but is the purpose of meeting you with open hands. Like when you say aloha means with uh love. How you, brother?

Neki: Fine, I'm the new waiter.

Fred: Did any fishing lately?

Neki: No.

Fred: I was drinking. Another kind alcohol. Oh, she's tired. Let her rest. Pour some hot water for you?

Neki: You must excuse me.

Fred: You can put some, Rosina, you, Sarah. Sarah, you. Yeah, try 'n' read out what you like. Care for cream? Care for any sugar? Sit next to her, Rosina. No, no. Sit next to her and uh show her what you - what you like. You can ask her what subjects uh point it out to you, and you read, Rosina, which part do you like best, eh? So Gloria know what you like.

Rosina: I like this one.

Fred: You let her read that. Yeh. What other subjects you like, Rosina?

Rosina: This one.

Fred: What is that about?

Rosina: Curious George. Curious George.

Fred: Oh - a story? Oh, curious George. And what other do you like? No, I just uh learned about it through the PTA and also read something about where they would like to introduce this new type of uh language. Yes. Mrs. Kubota. Mrs. Kubota. She's a nice person. How many times during the week in school d'you folks had to take this up?

Rosina: Three times.

Neki: One hour. Different groups, I think, they in certain - no, certain groups, by grades.

Fred: Only Dr. Crowley came down and help you folks with that, or somebody else too?

Rosina: Him and a boy.

Fred: From the Peace Corps? Do you know the name of the boy that helped Dr. Crowley? And how the Peace Corps came down, help you folks too? He had some representative from the Peace Corps that uh worked

along with the children here. I don't know what their purpose was but more especially I think it's uh getting themselves oriented so that they could go down to Thailand and Singapore and other places where they can meet and speak with the people. Down here.

Neki: Good morning, sonny! What time wanna leave and go pick down there? OK, I would say that -

Fred: Eh, brother, you know since this is the first time that Gloria meet uh Rosina and uh Sarah, maybe they kind of bashful yet, huh?

Neki: Bashful, that's right.

Fred: But uh how 'bout me asking permission from you that if uh since she's gonna be here couple a more days that uh I maybe if I can bring her back the next time? Maybe they'd be easier to talk to, and at the same time -

Neki: Boy, these kids can talk like anything when they're not around, but around, they, oh boy, think gotta shut up or keep quiet. They raise the roof off.

Fred: But uh

Neki: Well, this sticking with their head down they not gonna learn anything about it, you know, uh, they wanna answer questions.

Fred: Why don't we - so we

Neki: Like Sarah's in the sixth grade. She's not taking this English uh study like Rosina.

Fred: But uh she gonna be in the what grade next year?

Rosina: Fourth.

Fred: So we were thinking that maybe we might come again. You know and by that time maybe she

Neki: By that time you not exhausted!

Fred: Thank you. We look over and in the meantime we come back again.

OK. This time next time we come back you better talk. You 'n' him nod your head, yeah, talk - like Uncle Neki said, you folks can talk like hell. OK uh already? Yeh, you started the material and when we come back the next time, you point out what you like. You know what I think, Gloria? Not only ask questions, but you should ask them to read the material that they interested in, so you can get some kind impression of what and how they express themselves.

Neki: And how I'm occupied.

Fred: Must be busy, brother.

Neki: Ah, they came for the ulu, eh? Oh, they -

Fred: 's too green, yeah?

Neki: No.

Fred: What they gonna make, brea- uh poi?

Neki: No, they wanna sell 'em, make money but

Fred: *Oh, who's that?*

Neki: *Harris boys.*

Fred: *They cut enough?*

Neki: *Only one bag of a hundred pound.*

Fred: *That makes only about uh sixty pound poi.*

Neki: *Well, they gonna sell 'em. They get five cent a pound, so between those three boy they gonna stick five dollars I hope.*

Fred: *Oh, well, just for pocket money.*

Neki: *Yeah, just for pocket money. They take coke, with that they can buy two case coke I hope. That's the Hawaiian hospitality. You give things away for nothing.*

Fred: *See, there are some boys that came here to knock down the bread-fruit, which we call ulu, and they intend to make the poi, to you it's just like a paste. And they go around to sell it just to raise money. So he said, Hawaiian custom.*

Neki: *Uh-huh. Let 'em make the money. So. Fred and I worked down around so many many years together. We been friends together for oh many years, his children were small. This is my daughter over here. She's married, that's the little baby we have, our first grandchild. My son is over there, just came back from Fort Ord. He's married too.*

Fred: *Just got married.*

Neki: *Just got married about a month ago. Some more coffee?*

Fred: *No, thank you.*

Neki: *You folks want any peaches or bread, anything like that?*

Fred: *Nah.*

Neki: *Yeah, if you wanna come back, you can come back the same, some day. Too bad you never get enough material for out of this uh. That's the reason why my wife and I worked on 'em. They can talk talk talk talk while they uh by themselves, but when you with company it seems that they lost their tongue. So we think - I would think so. I was the quiet type.*

Fred: *They shy.*

Neki: *My girl was over there in the Bank of Hawaii. She been there from when she graduated in high school, in 1962. Well, what she always tell me, 'Daddy, you better off than some of these haoles in Hilo playing big shot, you know, ride around in Cadillac and uh all of that, but they owe their life to the bank. That's right. They owe their life to the bank. Like us, Dad, we no owe nobody, so. Content in what we - we, we never can see for that for us. Gee, that guy's a millionaire, we gonna be a millionaire, no? Gonna be in a, be right down there, lower brackets.*

Fred: *He's a happy-go-lucky fellah. He's a well known uh - no, he came to the*

Neki: *I came in 1946.*

Fred: *After the war. But prior to that time he used to work with the Army Transport Service and later was transferred to our uh our terminal di- division, into longshore. Yeah. On this island, during the war.*

Neki: *This island, and all around.*

Fred: *All the cargo.*

Neki: *Army, cargo, marine, personnel and all that. Oh, we used to have nice time too, eh?*

Fred: *Yeah.*

Neki: *We had a good uh good lieutenants, yeh. Oh, he was just always like uh a local boy, one of the two, and he was from the South. The wife and him always arguing, the wife calls him a rebel. And she goes on arguing in Hilo too.*

Fred: *But he came, became a major when he ended his career here. He was well liked.*

Neki: *Oh, my baby, Grandma take your food? Hey?*

Fred: *This boy just like _____ about the eyes.*

Neki: *Everybody think so. Same the eyes.*

Fred: *Yeah, yeah. And brown hair, same like the brother - uncle. Every day down here?*

Neki: *M-hm. No, they stay with the mother and father every day now. They came home.*

Fred: *They did?*

Neki: *Yeah.*

Fred: *Oh. Cannot live away.*

Neki: *No can't. High cost of living. They were staying here paying no rent, and uh they went up, they paid eighty-five dollars rent. One year afterwards they came to us, paying too much money so came back home.*

Fred: *He love children, you know.*

Neki: *M'hm. My wife and I know we no, we couldn't have any children, we adopted Joe and that boy.*

Fred: *Yeah.*

Neki: *During the war. War baby. Now we adopt these two other one from the niece that died of, 1960. 1960. We adopted this one only, we tried this one first and the other auntie that kept it died, so we keep 'em, both.*

Fred: *Neki comes from a loving family, start with his mother and father. They have adopted children, about two or three of them, and they have been living as brothers and sisters ever since, and*

Neki: *In my book here I got*

Fred: *I'm just saying that.*

Neki: *All in different nationalities too, Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian.*

Fred: *And one of his sisters who is uh Japanese girl got two children, one a girl and one a boy. He took care of them, and his boy is pure haole.*

Neki: *Haole.*

Fred: *Half white and. And he adopted him, and he now is the uncle of this pure Hawaiian girl.*

Neki: *Introduce 'em to - Mommy! Mom! Come! Come, meet Fred.*

Fred: *Hello, Helen!*

Helen: *Hello, Freddie!*

Fred: *How you? I want you meet Mrs., Miss Gloria Glissmeyer from the University of Hawaii, linguist. Mrs. Helen Kauhi.*

Neki: *Are you gonna work with Dale Crowley, Gloria? I know him very well. Cause he always be with me, Peace Corps. He's a nice man! He took the responsibilities. Oh, he's been in Japan over ten years I think.*

Fred: *How you?*

Helen: *Oh, I'm fine.*

Fred: *You must be tired.*

Helen: *I am.*

Fred: *She's with the uh this what you call it. She wants to get conversation from around in this area. Since - Dr. Crowley - she studies at, and she's one of the girls working on classes. This was the uh first time that she came here.*

Helen: *Oh.*

Fred: *Since Rosina is kinda shy and bashful today, we asked to come back another time when she's uh uh more in better feelings.*

Helen: *Got to get 'em used to 'em yet. After she get useden to 'em, oh my Johnnie!*

Neki: *That's right. I told her all the time, I told 'em my wife here that they go to school just to eat lunch. Think of the lunch every day you know, and uh -*

Helen: *Yes, Johnny is better uh, Johnny is more educated.*

Fred: *Yeah. How long you been in the Islands now, Gloria? Oh, good. Oh, you a kamaaina now once. You can eat raw fish an' poi already.*

Helen: *You can't?*

Fred: *Sure, she have to go out and - gosh, I wish you came earlier, we could have gone to the big one down there on Sunday.*

Helen: *You just came back from the Mainland? Just from Honolulu?*

Fred: *Originally she's from San Francisco.*

Helen: *Oh. Been in the Islands long? Taught someplace? Have you taught someplace? Oh, university. Oh! East-West Center? I see. Meet lots. Right.*

Fred: *But you the right person for this. You know what I told Gloria this morning over cup of coffee at the Hukilau? I told her that uh I made trips to the Mainland, more especially to the uh East Coast. And there you find different nationalities like the uh Italian people they speak their own dialect and still they speak uh to me a pidgin English up there, and yet each nationality speaks their own. But over here is the melting pot. No matter where any boy, Hawaiian boy or girl from the Islands here, no matter what nationality they are, you send them to Singapore, Thailand, Japan, China, Philippine Islands, or you send them to the Mainland, they can get along easy to speak, speak especially, without sign language.*

Neki: *Like uh now uh they trying to give up pidgin in the Islands, now.*

Fred: *How long they been doing that.*

Neki: *I think so that was a mistake because the beauty part of the Islands is to listen to a guy talk pidgin like Neki and Freddie sometimes.*

Helen: *And a, and a few more others.*

Neki: *And few more others. I think that's now it's a, it's a thing of the Islands cause you don't wanta come down here and listen to professor answer you back, talking like a professor or a dean and a school teacher. You wanta hear this guy talk 'Come on, you, speak the way, "Where you was going tomorrow?"' So, all that type.*

Fred: *I was saying to her that uh when our boys was in the war for the second regiment and when they first landed in Africa and work their way up from south end Italy right up to France, that uh lot of the Hawaiian boys they used to use like a pidgin English so that uh German couldn't counter with their intelligence, like an example in case you want to call the uh stretcher carriers, you call, you ask for the hapai kome. They don't know that uh over here it means to - carry cane.*

Helen: *Cane carrier.*

Fred: *Cane Carrier, so they bring a stretcher along. And they used lot of oh expressions like that you know during the war.*

Neki: *Better than sign language anyhow. I hear this guy that came from the Mainland wi' big group, that 'em use that sign language, things like that. They came from Honolulu -*

Helen: *One them that came.*

Fred: *They have a school here. No, in Honolulu. They send them all to Honolulu. Yes. Right.*

Neki: *I know Dale is doing a good job down there. This guy from the Mainland came over, professor here, commenting they do a fine over here.*

Fred: *They take it for credit. You know the old school system used to be different from today. Today, as Neki said, they go to school for lunch.*

Neki: *Oh yeah, before -*

Fred: *During our time you know what the teacher use to say? She say our parents work hard and sacrifice their time to send us to school, we better study and learn as much as we can, so naturally when you went up to high school and most of the students di'n further than that, they try to make the best of it, whereas today the students whether they want to or don't want to the opportunity is granted to them to further their education to a college or university, and some don' take that advantage.*

Neki: *You remember what Captain, Captain Bowker say, say they get iron ships and wooden men, uh, wooden men, olden days they have wooden ships and iron men. I'll never forget that.*

Fred: *'as what they use to have special as longshoremen, that they used to have iron men and wooden ships, today they have wooden men and iron ships. ... They use the word progress now you know, uh*

Helen: *Everything has been, has come so easy. Pretty soon we're going to eat, you don't have to serve me, I don't have to cook. You only going open little box like that, and I say, 'Well, Freddie, this is your ham, this is your egg', and all you do is pick one of each.*

Neki: *Oh, I think it's gonna come that.*

Fred: *It's here! You have all the pills.*

Helen: *Eat it! Now you sit down and eat it, and don't play around with it. Yes, everything is coming to that. You know nowadays, yeah nowadays you go to uh oh working place y'have coca cola in a machine, y'have sandwiches in a machine, y'have y'salad in the machine, and all you have to do, insert a quarter, a kind a salad you want it comes out. You and I went out, and we never used to do that. Your mother had to do all of that, and give it to you, put 'em on a plate,*

Fred: *That's right.*

Neki: *Well, I think there'll come a time when you don't have to eat, somebody else will be bring to you, bring a robot, is a robot go around and he say*

Helen: *and you have eat it. Today everything is so fast, and I think it's wonderful. In some ways, yes, especially for people who work. You know, you can't be running uh running to a restaurant, and then you only have uh a limited time, we say maybe oh 'bout half an hour. I can't go over there to Coconut Grove and say, 'Freddie, bring me up a big dinner' - you know - and then I gotta go someplace. All y'have do is pick up a sandwich, a coke, and run.*

Fred: *How band today make a' Coconut Grove?*

Helen: *Well, I tell you it's nice. There the thing is*

Neki: *They have haole type music over there uh*

Helen: *But that's good. It's more quiet. I like it that way than this downtown.*

Neki: *Uh. For the Islands they don't need a place like over here, need Hawaiian music, Hawaiian atmosphere.*

Fred: *They need with the rough.*

Helen: *The rough kind you know, loud and rugged. Coconut Grove is quiet.*

Neki: *The island is grow! My -*

Fred: *Well, they used to have the Club Kontiki where everything was moderate, you know, you have loud and soft and everything.*

Helen: *But not anymore.*

Neki: *Like us, they play music of the Kam Inn. That's a lousy joint too.*

Fred: *Yeah. Every night.*

Helen: *No, now Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.*

Neki: *Right across from the bowling alley. It's an inky dinky so you don't wanta go in there maybe. You get all swapped 'n' docked. You shouldn't go in there. I wouldn't recommend you go there at all, oh, you get all kinds of strong language -*

Helen: *Like you, if, if I were going out for adventure, if I'm gonna go out and I'm a school teacher and I'm gonna go out and seek of some kind of material, I'd go up to some places like that and sit down and act and, and sit down and watch at them and catch what you find. You want kind of character*

Fred: *You can hear them sing and*

Helen: *Oh, I think it's fun, yeah?*

Neki: *Oh, yeah.*

Helen: *Oh, anybody is allowed to go in, yeah.*

Neki: *You want to go in next week, Helen and, and you and Helen come to that, nobody bother you, walk some on a table, cause Helen can tell 'em off I think.*

Helen: *You know the, you know, uh, it's fun. I'm telling you it is fun you know cause we have couple a school teachers come in there too and I know who they are. Yeah. Julie and the music kind school teachers, _____ school.*

Neki: *Dale and uh Mary came, came in there. They want to hear my guitar player playing.*

Fred: *He plays with the nose too, you know, banquets and, and oh.*

He's an exception, you know, but instead of making use of his talents he won't do it you know.

Neki: *Huh? See he just measure above my belt.*

Rosina: *Whole bunch of uh small cake.*

Fred: *He play in the Hawaiian Eye you know, the movie Hawaiian Eye, piano player, in the barn, the sow barn.*

Neki: *Yeah, I play uh any instrument.*

Fred: *He's a good singer too, he plays ukelele, he plays a sax, yeah, he's an instructor for instrument.*

Neki: *No.*

Fred: *He use to teach about one hundred students during the summer.*

Neki: *No, two hundred, three hundred. Recreation department, school department.*

Fred: *He use to be with the Peace Corps. Yeah, she is with the, he was with the Peace Corps.*

Neki: *I like the Peace Corps when we went down camping one time, way down in, in a pali. Oh, I pity those kids, I call 'em kids because they young already, they just come up from uh college and hike about nine miles way up, go down and then, about two thousand feet down.*

Fred: *That's a steep pali, yeah?*

Neki: *Yeah. And they had to go there and rough it out themself, eh?*

Fred: *They use to go there for goat hunting in that area, or they would go with pack saddle uh mules to get uh opihi. Uh, you call it sea urchins. Sea urchin. It's a shell*

Neki: *Excuse me.*

Fred: *with a uh a pikoli - it's a island delicacy and they use that all at a parties. You listen to Neki. He's all right. So you can get some material. That's what you wanted, eh?*

Henry: *People like that - oh boy! No more war! They, they kind people. Love.*

Elizabeth: *Uh-huh. The people over there they all really friendly.*

Henry: *Right. On Niihau.*

Elizabeth: *They very friendly. Uh-huh. But only, only that uh other nationality not allowed there. Is only Hawaiian there.*

Henry: *Only Hawaiian people.*

Elizabeth: *Only Hawaiian. Well, I don't know, you see, Robinson doesn't want to mix the Hawaiian with other nationality. I think he wants to uh bring up the, the Hawaiian - oh, I don't know. I like you know yesterday I was down at, to see, to had to open 'em down here, and one of the haole women ask me um 'Do they keep them in prisoner?' I said no. Yeah, they said because there they cannot come out, yeah? When you come out, you have to ask the boss. And you have to ask the boss how many days you have to come out, maybe one week or one month. After that one week you have to go right back. Wah! wah! No excuse.*

No excuse. They very stricky, you know, there, very strict. See, like me, I glad that my husband is from there, tha's how I got to get there, otherwise I cannot be there - you see. You have to get a family in there so they - too bad my sist'-in-law just went out. She speaks perfect of that language. Kali sister that came uh with me, and her cousin. Kelelani. Kelelani! Tha's Hawaiian name, Kelelani. Elizabeth is uh Eliza or Elizabeth or Eliza. Kelelani! /ana olu' ilu ko# me' po' imeha'!/ You see we s- talk with k, but when uh uh my sister talks they all with t. Too bad they just went out. You could hear them speak, oh, I love to hear them speak.

Fred: You know those people that come from Niihau, see, they big people!

Elizabeth: Oh, they clumsy! Mm - huge! They very huge. Uh-huh.

Henry: No, I, that's a map from the Hawaiian Airline.

Elizabeth: Mm-hm.

Henry: Right on this uh portion in here the uh Niihau. See. That's the island I went.

Elizabeth: A little island.

Henry: Nice that one. From, from Waimea.

Elizabeth: From Kauai, Kauai to uh Niihau.

Henry: Waimea to Niihau. Yeah, right, right on this point here. That's where the barge land.

Elizabeth: The barge just go right on the sand, but it's all sand, all white sand and the barge just go right on the sand. Yeah, all cause they

Henry: Well, what went I done with that, the picture?

Elizabeth: I don't know, someplace. Yeah, well, they haul uh sheep, they haul uh

Henry: Cattle.

Elizabeth: Cattles. M-hm. 'a's why the why the people

Fred: They haul sheep, cattle and honey.

Elizabeth: Honey.

Henry: Honey, yeah.

Elizabeth: Honey and

Henry: Now they, they have charcoal over there.

Elizabeth: And charcoal 'a's what they hauling.

Henry: They supplying all the, the island with charcoal.

Elizabeth: M-hm.

Henry: They barbecue the meat eh?

Fred: You know when I used to be on the inter-island and we used to go from Kauai to Niihau, we only stay offshore.

Henry: Yeah.

Fred: *And they bring the cattle to the ship.*

Henry: *Ship.*

Fred: *And we only stay limited time. The only time we get off is when you go out pick opihi.*

Henry: *Opihi.*

Elizabeth: *Oh, for fish and opihis and uh all kinds of fish there, lots there.*

Fred: *That's the only time you allowed to get off, but never touch land. Come close to them, aow!*

Elizabeth: *Cause he wa'n't allowed, you know. He's very stricky.*

Fred: *You know one of these honey cans is real heavy but they can carry, one man carry himself.*

Henry: *Yeah.*

Elizabeth: *How many pounds?*

Fred: *Whereas on a ship it cost two three men to carry one container.*

Henry: *That's two hundred pound in a can.*

Fred: *You take like uh Mr. Crowley here, he's about six feet four, weigh about two hundred eighty pound.*

Henry: *Yeah, about. Haw, no, about two forty.*

Fred: *You know your nephew that came here?*

Henry: *Yeah.*

Elizabeth: *Kelelani, there something on the stove! Go see, and turn 'em off.*

Henry: *Uh, what?*

Fred: *Oh, that sixteen years old nephew and*

Henry: *Oh, yes.*

Fred: *And he was bigger than him.*

Henry: *Yeah. He really is, real big. No, though uh people there they kind. They, they loving people. You go there, they call you to go their home. No, they take care of you.*

Elizabeth: *You know, you know, I was so pleased when I got there. My sister uh in law ask me told me now if anybody come and ask you to go to their home, you go, because you gonna have a present and sure enough wherever I went they all gi' me leis, you see? And my sister-in-law say that's their custom. If they see any strangers come and when they ask you to go you go, and if you don't go it hurts their feeling. So I, I please my sister or and of course at first I was shame b'cause I don't know who they are, you see, and so when they ask me my sister say you go, because if you want a lei, you want a sh- uh uh wha' d' you call, shell lei, you better go. So - went. When she told me I went the first house, when as soon I get enter in the home they present me lei. Then the next day another uh family come and ask me come over the*

house, and when I got there they have the luau! They had a kalu pig and a ooh! That's what I been eating, kalu pig here, kalu pig there, kalu pig there. Ah.

Fred: You ask them - they - you know when they have their festival?

Elizabeth: Mm.

Fred: Sometime one whole week.

Henry: Yeah, whole week.

Fred: You ask 'em.

Elizabeth: Mm.

Henry: Whole week.

Elizabeth: 'a's two week sometime.

Fred: They eat one whole week, you know.

Henry: Yeah.

Elizabeth: But the, the boss give one cow, pig, oh, they have lots of pig there, and the turkey go, just go wild there.

Henry: Wild.

Elizabeth: Ooh, the turkey. I was told when you get there, you look up on a tree, there's lots of turkey on the tree, well, I didn't believe that. So when I got there

Henry: Turkey in there.

Elizabeth: and of course there's lots of tree where my uh bro'-in-law was. One morning I hear funny sound so I said I wonder if this is a turkey, when I look up on a tree, ooh, the turkey was all on a tree! Uh-huh. But to them they call it pokeaukeau, you see. And to us - 'at's what they call - and to us is uh

Fred: How they call that? Call that uh

Elizabeth: Pelehuu, eh? To us is pelehuu. 'at's turkey. But in our language we call it pelehuu.

Fred: I thought one of the feathers, you know, that uh they call that, but uh no.

Henry: No, the uh what

Elizabeth: Pokeaukeau is just like it's round, eh? Because

Henry: Uh, no, when they uh, oh, what, I don't, I no can place that name.

Elizabeth: I don't know because uh when they, they, you know, if the, I think the feathers just round, 'a's why they call it pokeaukeau. Pokeaukeau is just like a round.

Henry: 'n' chunk.

Elizabeth: Oh! Well, you see somebody told me and I never believe.

Mrs. Makaio - you know, Mrs. Makaio she told me now when you get there - I was told it - when you look up on a tree at in the evenings gonna see lots of turkey, and I didn't believe that. I say I wonder if she's

telling me lies or what. But when I got there - ah, all that funny noise! 'at's in the evening. When I look up on a tree, oh, the turkey was all in a tree, all kind! And they just let 'em go - turkey, sheep, cow - they just let 'em go.

Henry: Run wild.

Elizabeth: Of course each family raise pigs, and the pig they just run run in the yard so I just grab 'em and I play with it! Course, my brother-in-law - 'at's where I went, to my youngest brother-in-law. I have two more brother-in-law over there and one sister. And that's where I went. Oh, they raise pigs. The pigs just run wild there. Only uh the only is too dry there.

Henry: No water.

Elizabeth: No water.

Henry: Rain, rain water.

Elizabeth: Only in there -

Henry: Only brackish water.

Elizabeth: Only in there, it's rain, you have water. If no rain, what have you drink is brackish water.

Henry: Maybe I can show you.

Elizabeth: M-hm.

Henry: example of that.

Elizabeth: But uh the living over there is very cheap.

Henry: I keep this one.

Elizabeth: Of course the boss supply the poi. Yah.

Henry: I, I just showing it, see? 'at's a story. This person here went and ask uh Alma Robinson.

Elizabeth: But somebody went there and uh, and dropped their plane there and that's how they snap all these people so -

Fred: Know what you do, Gloria? Take the date of that. Try to copy it out so that your recorder could uh register that.

Henry: Yeah. M-hm.

Elizabeth: Oh, I just love that place.

Henry: And this is the, here are the people here, right here, outside here.

Elizabeth: There the people. That's the Niihau people.

Fred: Take that title out so you - that's right. Now we are at the home of uh a person that formerly comes from Niihau, you know, Henry Kahale, and he's of pure Hawaiian descent.

Elizabeth: Yeah. You know we, we got this from somebody and we kept it till now. M-hm.

Fred: You 'member, Gloria, this morning as I told you the first tenants of coming into the Hawaiian Homes area in Keaukaha were people of full

blooded Hawaiian or three-fourth Hawaiian. Now you in the home of a full blooded Hawaiian.

Elizabeth: *Oh, now the sister coming home!*

Fred: *Good.*

Elizabeth: *Kali sister.*

Henry: *M?*

Fred: *Good. Your sister come home so we can talk and then she can get some uh recording down.*

Elizabeth: *'scuse me.*

Henry: *No, uh, we went there, they have a summer school in Niihau, then my little girl brought a meh, you know, the lesson, what they give to Niihau, well, this is the school for most their teachers, to go in, summer school. Then uh were in there, and there was conducted school there.*

Fred: *How old is you?*

Henry: *Ten.*

Elizabeth: *Ten years. Baby, come over here.*

Fred: *She's from uh O- uh Niihau.*

Henry: *Niihau too.*

Elizabeth: *Niihau.*

Fred: *They brought her here when she was a baby and raised her until now.*

Henry: *Baby.*

Elizabeth: *I took her in when she was four days old, and now she stands - Mm.*

Fred: *They shy.*

Elizabeth: *They very bashful.*

Fred: *She's pure Hawaiian.*

Henry: *M-hm.*

Fred: *And when she went back, the lessons 'at they had the same?*

Elizabeth: *Come!*

Henry: *No. Different. My little girl brought uh for her teacher.*

Elizabeth: *The what?*

Henry: *No, but the lesson Niihau had, you know, from this teacher.*

Elizabeth: *Oh, they had uh what do you call that uh they have uh*

Fred: *You had uh you haven't seen that, eh, Gloria? Eh, Kelelani, bring and show us the*

Henry: *The script.*

Fred: *the report from uh Niihau.*

Elizabeth: *Well, they, they have that what d'you call uh summer school.*

Henry: *Summer school.*

Elizabeth: *And this is the program at the summer school. Mm. 'at's*

what they teach over there.

Henry: *'at's, 'at's what the outside teachers teach. All, yeah.*

Elizabeth: *No, from Kauai.*

Henry: *From Kauai.*

Elizabeth: *Uh, you have to get the Hawaiian to go there, so she was a little Hawaiian 'n' English.*

Henry: *So she brought back, you know, this thing, for show, for school teacher.*

Elizabeth: *Uh, she goes and listen and uh -*

Fred: *The first time, eh, she ever went Niihau?*

Henry: *First time. First. Her first time.*

Elizabeth: *Yeah. It's the first time. And it was my first trip.*

Fred: *How over there their luaus?*

Henry: *Hoo!*

Elizabeth: *Oh! And you know how their, their kalu not like our kalu uh well, kaluau. We kalu is so deep, them is so shallow!*

Fred: *On top?*

Elizabeth: *Oh, it's so shallow! And how we used to sh- we kaluau used to make is so deep, this is so shallow.*

Fred: *What kind uh uh wood they use?*

Elizabeth: *Oh, they use the keawe.*

Henry: *Keawe. Keawe. M-hm.*

Elizabeth: *They just uh roast 'em in I think oh, dump it in.*

Fred: *What they do uh before, they uh throw over the stones or they make like us uh hot water?*

Elizabeth: *No, only stones.*

Henry: *No, no more hot water, 'a's all, man. You know they use with the torch, you know, the hair, with torch.*

Elizabeth: *No time for uh finish.*

Fred: *Attach veah?*

Henry: *Yeah. Then they clean all the inside.*

Fred: *You know what I'm talking about is the preparation of the pig to be put in the imu to be cooked, because of, because of like he say not much water*

Henry: *Mm.*

Fred: *they roll the pigs over the stone and the stone burn out the hair.*

Elizabeth: *M-hm.*

Fred: *But in Hilo here and around the place where you get water, they use to boil the water,*

Henry: *Yeah - boil water.*

Fred: *they threw it over and they s- uh*

Henry: *Yeah, singe it off.*

Fred: *But in uh*

Henry: *But Niihau there, no, they use torch, they torch all the hairs off. Mm. Water. Yeah. See. Yeah.*

Elizabeth: *It's so shallow!*

Henry: *Then after that they, they kalu in the imu.*

Elizabeth: *Mm. They kalu the little pig.*

Henry: *Oh, only fifteen minutes in the kalu.*

Elizabeth: *And they pour the water inside. I think it the steam, I think it the steam, it takes uh about ten fifteen minutes cook. Now like us see we take for one two three hours, eh? Not over there!*

Henry: *W- hours! Fifteen minutes.*

Fred: *Kalu a pig?*

Henry: *Yeah.*

Elizabeth: *There I don't know they, certain thing there, they leave it in the hole.*

Henry: *You know, they, they cover all and leave one*

Elizabeth: *M-hm. Little hole.*

Henry: *hole, you know, one place for you pour the water in.*

Elizabeth: *Then they pour the bucket of water in there. I guess the steam that makes the, the*

Henry: *Yeah.*

Elizabeth: *In no time cook and papa'a. That something like*

Henry: *Just like a pressure cooker.*

Elizabeth: *pressure cooker. You see they just pour the water in. I think that steam it's uh cook, and it's nice and brown. It's really nice and brown!*

Fred: *Soft too?*

Henry: *Soft.*

Elizabeth: *Soft, and brown.*

Henry: *Well cooked.*

Elizabeth: *When I saw that I say is so funny, different from our way of cov- of uh kaluing.*

Henry: *Kalua.*

Elizabeth: *Yah.*

Fred: *And how that taste when you eat?*

Henry: *Oh, same!*

Elizabeth: *And they put salt just like how we make. M-hm.*

Henry: *Everything just like how we eating.*

Fred: *Over there good, and they get plenty opihi.*

Henry: *Oh, yeah, eh!*

Elizabeth: *Oh, you know that when the first day we were in there and th- brought the next day, they had the kalu pig. Had raw fish, cook fish, fried fish, priho fish, one opihi, pipipi, everything was there, I don't know which for each f- to start to eat with.*

APPENDIX J

EXAMPLES OF EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION OF CLAUSE TYPES

(n.b. Matrix 10, p. 65)

- 1 *I just stand there, stand at attention, AND she drew me.*
- 2 *IF she sick, THEN now a new teacher will come.*
- 3 *I should've made you know I should've made the rainbow batman, BUT couldn't, I didn't have enough clay.*
- 4 *I play there for three years, SO am used already.*
- 5 *Just BECAUSE my name was Osborn Green, they kick me out of school.*
- 6 *I let you have the floor fast, BUT lemme have the mike!*
- 7 *If it breaks, the wave is, you know, the wave among the breaker uh, you need to uh catch it BECAUSE you'll be riding the soup at the whitewash.*
- 8 *... oh I try BUT what's the use?*
- 9 *Yesterday I went surfing in Chuck's Pond, AND there was this eel ...*
- 10 *A pipoboard is a board that is made out of a special kind of wood, and they have to make it so good that the water doesn't go in it, OTHERWISE it will sink.*
- 11 *... I go up to the pool on my bike OR my mother takes me ...*
- 12 *No, BUT when we went there weren't anybody.*
- 13 *If you uh go about now, you might reach about four-thirty.*
- 14 *Sit next to her AND show her what you like.*
- 15 *I don't know what their purpose was but more especially I think it's getting themselves oriented SO THAT they could go down to Thailand ...*
- 16 *See, there are some boys that came here to knock down the bread-fruit, which we call ulu, AND they intend to make the poi ...*
- 17 *... they try to make the best of it WHEREAS today ... the opportunity is granted to them ...*
- 18 *You listen to Neki he's all right, SO you can get some material.*
- 19 *BUT only only that uh other nationality not allowed there ...*

- 20 Try to copy it out SO THAT your recorder could uh register that.
21 ... it was crossed with the black ink AND I didn't know.
22 What they do uh before, they uh throw over the stones, OR they make
like us uh hot water?
23 Good thing he made it home. If he didn't make it, make it home
he'd been killed BECAUSE the traffic was so heavy that Christmas
Eve.
24 ... there was this two catfish SO we saw the catfish.
25 ... CAUSE he wa'n't allowed.
26 Do you know the name of the boy that helped Dr. Crowley? AND how
the Peace Corps came down, help you folks too?

APPENDIX K

re INTERROGATIVE INTONATION IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH

Intonation is not the special concern of this study, but I wish to note the intriguing matter of intonation in questions in Hawaii English (as well as in other American dialects). The most recent statement I know of is Nagara's, regarding the 'Pidgin English' of Japanese in Hawaii: 'Rising juncture / // / is to denote that the utterance is a question whether there is any other syntactical interrogative marker in the constituent with which this / // / occurs or not' (126). He cites (129) the chart on page 132 in Lieberman's work to justify the generalization of 'rising intonation indicating questions among English, Japanese and many other languages when no syntactic marker of question is involved.' Lieberman does assert (60) that 'in American English, yes-no questions are always produced with a marked breath group.' (A 'marked breath group' is defined as an utterance with rising terminal.)

For further similar treatment, also note the following. Otto Jespersen (*The Philosophy of Grammar*, 1924:303) states that 'with respect to tone it is the general rule that nexus-questions (yes-no) have a rising and x-questions (other than yes-no) a falling tone towards the end of the sentence.' Jerrold J. Katz and Paul M. Postal (*An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions*, 1964:111) mention '... the connection of Q with rising intonation in English ...' and '... the sometimes claimed universality of rising intonation in questions ...'

The feeling of Lieberman, Nagara, and others regarding the near universality of rising intonation as a question marker in utterances lacking interrogative words or particles is not supported by some other studies of American English on this point. Pike's analysis (1964) seems to limit intonation rising from his level two to the marking of questions (59-60); and the two falling patterns, from his level three

and his level one, do not signal questions (49-51, 60-61); but one falling pattern and two other rising patterns may be either questions or statements (44-59). Bolinger's extensive study (1957) presents even more explicitly the seeming fact that yes-no questions do not exclusively exhibit final rising contours (50, 64, 67, 71, 72-73, 75, 77, 81, 84, 91, 97-98) as well as that 'how-why' questions may take other than the usual pattern of a terminal down motion (136, 137, 140, 154, 159). In his dissertation (Cornell, 1958), Gage also shows that rising patterns for yes-no questions and falling ones for WH questions are not absolutely invariable, and, in addition, he cites (*passim*) 46 statements (non-questions) as having rising terminal intonation. And Pike (in *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, 1967:541) refers to 'Fries (in D. Jones, 1964:242-254), who shows that out of 2561 yes-or-no questions, about sixty percent - counter to continuous assertions to the contrary - had falling intonation.' W.A. Cook (*Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis*, 1969:50-53) indicates 233 as the intonation pattern of English questions with declarative clause structure, and 231 with question clauses like '*Did John go*' and '*Is John good*'.

More research is needed, obviously, both as to general American and as to Hawaii English interrogative intonation. It appears that in Keaukaha English there is not one distinctive pattern for yes-no and another for WH, but that a pattern roughly characterized in the Trager-Smith system as $/(2-3)4-1/$ is used for both types, and that at least another further pattern $/2-1/$ is also used for both types of questions. (In Pike's notation, these contours are $/(3-2)1-4/$ and $/3-4/$, respectively.)

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